

SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN THE TERRORIST DECISION MAKING PROCESS: THE  
ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF TACTICS AND STRATEGIES

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## **Abstract**

This portfolio explores a symbiotic relationship underlying much of the terrorist decision making process from an organizational perspective. That being, three facets of the decision making process that are dependent upon each other in terms of influence and operational implications. The three essential considerations that are taken into account are strategic, organizational and psychological. Specifically, the chapters in this portfolio examine the role of these considerations in the terrorist decision making process by examining specific tactics and strategies adopted by various terrorist organizations around the world.

By examining the role of external support on the existence of terrorist organizations, the first chapter attempts to identify and argue that three distinct factors must be associated within terrorist groups, all of which embody an organizational consideration for achieving longevity. First, a terrorist group must operate under a veil of legitimacy. Second, the organization must have popular support from the host nation. Lastly, the organization must have financial contribution to the terrorist lifecycle. It concludes that without all of these three common factors a terrorist organization is likely to experience brevity and thus appear trivial to their cause. The second chapter looks at a strategic consideration by identifying the organizational perspective of the decision making process. It does so by examining, how do motivations influence the decision for terrorist organizations to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi? It seeks to find an explicit answer(s), but the results offer a case by case consideration of context within each organization's decision to employ suicide terrorism. Finally, the third chapter looks at the psychological consideration by examining the ways in which a terrorist

organization can manipulate military intervention to spread terrorism. It concludes by offering the need for a concentrated effort of specific regional considerations including religious beliefs, social and cultural traditions by intervening forces. These considerations negate the opportunity of terrorist organizations to utilize psychological warfare through their means of manipulation.

This portfolio concludes that by addressing specific strategies and tactics of terrorist organizations we can explain the three most profound considerations within the discussion of the terrorist decision making process, that being: the strategic considerations, the organizational considerations and the psychological considerations. This offers a concentrated counterterrorism effort that is restricted, yet effective to desired goals.

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## Thesis Introduction

Through an examination of existing literature and general public opinion, the beliefs that Islamic fundamentalism and lunacy explain the terrorist decision making process are erroneous. As this study will argue, the terrorist decision making process is a methodical process that can provide officials with valuable insight for counterterrorism strategies, however increased research on the topic is needed. A study on decision making from the perspective of terrorist organizations allows for dynamism to the general study of terrorism which today focuses heavily on the perspective of counterterrorism forces. Effectiveness in the latter necessitates a thorough understanding of the former. The three following chapters of this portfolio will focus on the interplay of three fundamental factors involved in the terrorist decision making process; the organizational, strategic and psychological considerations. The interplay of these three factors are important, not just the factors themselves. This systematic study of terrorism offers a modern approach to research in the field, on a subject that is contentious and extensive in its history.

The terrorist decision making process can be divided among three distinct levels of consideration which can be explained through the analysis of specific tactics and strategies of terrorist organizations.<sup>1</sup> These three considerations are most important because understanding the interplay of each enables counterterrorism officials the opportunity to view the decision making process as a system of related entities; a process that is often viewed by scholars as factors that are mutually exclusive. First, the organizational consideration will be concerned with the sources by which resources can

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<sup>1</sup> McCormick, Gordon H. "Terrorist decision making." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6, no. 1 (2003): 473-507.

be utilized to provide for an organizations existence via direct operational support and broad support activities.<sup>2</sup> Second, the strategic consideration will be concerned with the decision to employ specific tactics as an instrumental choice made by a rational organization attempting to achieve a specific goal.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, the psychological consideration will be concerned with the organizational decision to employ psychological tactics and strategies aimed at directly influencing or manipulating a targeted audience.<sup>4</sup>

Each chapter represents one of the fundamental considerations in terms of the terrorist decision making process; that being, organizational considerations, strategic considerations and psychological considerations. These three considerations are often viewed as mutually exclusive in the study of terrorism, but as this study will show, the relationship between the three often overlaps and necessitates being viewed as symbiotic. Doing so will provide a framework for viewing counterterrorism efforts in terms of attainable goals and by avoiding long protracted conflicts. It is a unique approach to viewing the terrorist decision making process from literature that exists today. It involves a multipronged examination of the process by looking at the three most researched considerations under one focused study as opposed to three mutually exclusive studies.

Chapter 1 of this portfolio will address organizational considerations by looking at the affects of external support on the existence of terrorist organizations. External support is essentially the lifeline of a terrorist organization. It enables and facilitates their existence in a multitude of ways through both direct operational means and broader support activities. This chapter will argue that there are three common factors of external

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, McCormick 486-490.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 481-486.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 490-495.

support that most contribute to the existence of a terrorist organization. First, external support allows an organization to operate under a veil of legitimacy that not only operates without oversight, but severely challenges counterterrorism efforts. Secondly, external support increases popular support regionally and in the host nation by allowing the organization to fulfill its agenda politically and socially. Lastly, external support allows a terrorist organization to become a formidable threat by contributing to a terrorist life cycle, essentially enabling direct operational activities. The hypothesis in this chapter focuses on terrorist organizations needing all three common factors of external support to sustain longevity in their existence. It is believed that in the event one of these considerations are not met, the existence of the terrorist organization will be heavily challenged. An extensive network essentially enables a terrorist organization to formidably oppose a more superior opposition.

Chapter 2 of this portfolio will address the strategic consideration of this portfolio by looking at how motivations influence the decision for terrorist organizations to utilize suicide terrorism as their modus operandi. Suicide terrorism is not a new phenomenon, however the frequency of these attacks necessitates an evaluation. It has acted as an equalizer within irregular warfare between much more globalized and technologically advanced forces. The relationship between religious fanaticism and suicide terrorism inundates scholarly literature today, however this study will seek to show that there is logic and strategic calculation behind terrorist organizations' decision to employ suicide terrorism. It is strategic in that it is low in cost. It remains a more effective alternative to other forms of terrorism. Suicide terrorist are difficult to identify and track as a result of their as a result of the characteristics embodied within the individual and group dynamic.



Religious leaders are able to justify this *modus operandi* in terms of ideological justifications. Summarily suicide terrorism has operational advantages that far outweigh alternative means of action.

Chapter 3 of this portfolio will address the psychological considerations by looking at how terrorist organizations utilize military interventions to spread their cause. It will show that terrorist organizations manipulate essential regional factors such as religious beliefs, social and cultural traditions. They use these factors to gain support and sympathy by activating nationalist reactions. This chapter shows overlap between organizational, strategic and psychological considerations yet its focus is on the efforts of terrorist organizations' manipulation capabilities through psychological warfare. They do so by manipulating the relationship between intervening forces and the spiritual identity of the host nation; as well as by exaggerating a disconnect of social and cultural traditions between an intervening force and the host nation. This chapter will argue that to be successful military intervention must be sensitive to these three regional conditions because when one is breached terrorist organizations will exploit the intentions of an intervening force as self-indulged.

The prevalence of terrorism today and the egregious acceptance that it is a phenomenon in our lives is a concept that inspired this study. Moreover, literature on this topic is inundated with a counterterrorism operational approach and the efforts necessary to defeat terrorism. Assimilating a study into the perspective of terrorist organizations enables this portfolio to manifest predictable, achievable and calculable strategies that are independent from religious explanative jargon. Globalization has stratified the theatre of warfare dramatically by increasingly enabling irregular warfare. War between states is far

less likely than war between states and organizations today, thus increased focus on terrorist organizations is needed. Terrorism is dominated by organizational labels such as al Qaeda, Hezbollah, al Shabaab and the Tamil Tigers to name a few. These labels represent more than a name of the organization, they represent ideology, terror, violence, religion and even politics, yet often times these representations cloud our understandings that are needed to defeat these organizations. Disassembling terrorist strategies by evaluating the decision making process from an organizational perspective simplifies counterterrorist efforts to attainable, strategic and catastrophic goals.

## **Chapter 1**

### **External Support of Terrorist Organizations**

Terrorist organizations exist for a multitude of reasons. External support is the mechanism that enables and facilitates their existence regardless of differing agendas or geo-political implications among terrorist organizations. Terrorist organizations on a global scale necessitate external support not only as a lifeline, but also as a means of fulfilling their ideological goals, recruitment, support, planning and execution of their agendas. External support is an alarming component to the study of terrorist organizations because it materializes and legitimizes terrorist organizations claims'. External support comes in various forms; financially, logistically, ideologically and through recruitment to name a few. The literature presented in the review will explore the breadth of literature on external support which focuses on funding operations. This chapter as a result will be concerned with addressing the void in academic literature by addressing how external support affects the existence of terrorist organizations beyond funding operations. That is, resources beyond funding that enable an organization to survive. A veil of legitimacy, popular support and financial support reinforce each other and contribute to a group's long term survival. Moreover, its role as an organizational consideration in the terrorist decision making process will convey a symbiotic relationship with the two following chapters which evaluate a strategic and psychological consideration respectively. Popular literature focuses on terrorist group's operational reasoning, whether motivated by political or an ideological agenda, however understanding how external support affects the existence of terrorist organizations improves situational awareness of terrorism in our contemporary operational

environment.<sup>5</sup> Organizations necessitate external support to create and maintain organizational support, to sustain an ideology of terrorism through propaganda mechanisms and to finance the presumably legitimate activities needed to provide a veil of legitimacy for terrorist organizations.<sup>6</sup>

This chapter will seek to argue that there are three common effects of external support that most contribute to the existence of terrorist organizations. First, the ambiguity and complexity of external support due to the veil of legitimacy makes counterterrorism efforts increasingly challenging. Financial contributions aid in weapons, ammo, explosives and even wages for its fighters. Propaganda is fueled through ideological and financial support aimed at recruitment and retention of fighters. The ambiguity of financial support networks which operate under covert and overt covers create a significant challenge to counterterrorist efforts. All of the above is procured through tactics that utilize a veil of legitimacy that makes identification of sources, individuals and intentions difficult. Second, external support causes an increase in popular support within a country harboring a specific terrorist organization. External support enables an organization to fulfill its ideological platform that was presented to society within the host nation. Consequently, fulfillment of their promises increases moral, physical and political support within a country. Lastly, external support enables a terrorist organization to become a formidable threat to its enemies by contributing to each component of a terrorist life cycle.<sup>7</sup> This is inclusive of communication, logistics,

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<sup>5</sup> Hamilton, Lee. "Terrorist Organizational Models". *A Military Guide to Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century*. August 15, 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Force, Financial Action Task. "Terrorist financing." *Financial Action Task Force* (2008).

<sup>7</sup> Cohen, David. "Confronting New Threats in Terrorist Financing". Remarks of Undersecretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence. Center for a New American Security. *U. S. Department of the Treasury*. March 3, 2014.

recruitment, salaries, training, travel, safe havens, bribes and weapons acquisition.<sup>8</sup>

Within such considerations, external support allows an organization to project its power on a global scale. The restriction of borders and limitations are overcome when external support is strong and transnational reach is possible. Essentially, external support has consequences for terrorist organizations beyond funding operations. This chapter will explore the hypothesis that terrorist organizations need all three common factors previously mentioned to sustain longevity within their existence while maintaining an extensive network of direct operational support and broader support activities. Their threat to the global community will be comprehensive, thus creating significant challenges to counterterrorism efforts that could more readily counter a less extensive and weaker supported organization. Global networks like al Qaeda and Hezbollah are formidable threats that maintain an extensive presence in the world as a result of their resourcefulness. Conversely, smaller affiliates who suffer from the absence of a strong external support network remain severely challenged in terms of resource attrition and against counterterrorism efforts. As a result, such organizations' existence appears trivial.

### **Defining the Concepts**

In order to understand the breadth of this study it is important to clarify some key concepts, namely what is meant by the term external support and what qualifies a terrorist organization. For purposes of this study, I will draw on a Rand study titled "Assessing The Impact of External Support".<sup>9</sup> This study draws on trends in outside support for

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, Cohen.

<sup>9</sup> Byman, Daniel, Peter Chalk, Bruce Hoffman, William Rosenau, and David Brannan. *Trends in outside support for insurgent movements*. Rand Corporation, 2001.

insurgent movements, but meets several criteria for understanding the role of external support for terrorist organizations. Those being, factors that explain how terrorist organizations exist by looking at what external support does for an organization. These similarities which qualify the utilization of the Rand study in my argument for terrorist organizations will be drawn from a study by Peter Neumann and Michael Smith based on terrorism as a strategic choice that follows a three-stage method: disorientation, target response and gaining legitimacy.<sup>10</sup> These distinguish similarities between the goals of an insurgent and the goals of a terrorist. An insurgency and a terrorist organization employ violent methods, not as a direct means to compel, but as a method of ideological communication.<sup>11</sup> Both struggle to gain legitimacy for their ideas in the minds of the target audience.<sup>12</sup> Lastly, both groups seek to detract from the legitimacy of a non-compliant government.<sup>13</sup> Terrorism is essentially a strategy for an insurgency; it nonetheless meets the requirements for external support of an organization. There are varying viewpoints of what a terrorist organization is, based on modern academic literature. Some academics provide definitions that span dense paragraphs referencing many traits that qualify their definition.<sup>14</sup> Others offer a minimalist definition that is narrow and concise.<sup>15</sup> For this study I will use a definition that is comprehensive among a breadth of literature on the topic and define terrorist organizations as politically motivated groups which utilize their tactics involving threats, the use of force or violence,

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<sup>10</sup> Neumann, Peter R., and Micheal Lawrence Rowan Smith. *The Strategy of terrorism: How it works, and why it fails*. Routledge, 2007.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 12-48.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Martha Crenshaw in Schmid, Alex. "Terrorism-the definitional problem." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 36 (2004): note 74.

<sup>15</sup> Edward S. Heyman in Schmid, Alex. "Terrorism-the definitional problem." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 36 (2004), note 18.

by which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role for goals specific to the organization.<sup>16</sup> This definition is useful throughout this chapter and the remainder of the portfolio.

The use of the term legitimacy throughout this portfolio is meant as a value whereby something or someone, including a group, is recognized as credible and even lawful.<sup>17</sup> This definition is drawn from the principles of Max Weber and adapted to meet the arguments represented throughout this portfolio. This form of legitimacy can be used in my arguments because the use of this term is intended only in regards to the activities carried about by terrorist organizations. At no point throughout this portfolio, will I make arguments for or against the political legitimacy of a terrorist organization and their desire to be the state. For purposes of my argument, legitimacy will be used in terms of the terrorist decision making process and the establishment of credibility to justify their need for popular support, inevitably contributing to a group's long term survival.

Each terrorist organization is unique, meaning various forms of support are intended to meet a variety of needs. External support of terrorist organizations may seek to enable them to survive counterterrorism efforts, challenge a host government or even weather a decrease in popular support.<sup>18</sup> Defining external support can be accomplished by comprehensively grouping its meanings in two categories: human and material.<sup>19</sup> These two categories represent critical, valuable and minor forms of support.<sup>20</sup> Thus, defining external support in terms of these two categories allows for an understanding of

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<sup>16</sup> Weinberg, Leonard, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler. "The challenges of conceptualizing terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 4 (2004): 777-794.

<sup>17</sup> O'Neil, Patrick H. *Essentials of comparative politics*. WW Norton & Company, 2007.

<sup>18</sup> Byman, Daniel, Peter Chalk, Bruce Hoffman, William Rosenau, and David Brannan. *Trends in outside support for insurgent movements*. Rand Corporation, 2001, 83.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 84-99.

the pervasive nature of external support and its impact on the existence of terrorist organizations. Human necessities that define external support are: training, mobilization of political support and propaganda, fighters including effective leadership for control and command, intelligence concerning the adversary, inspiration and organizational aid.<sup>21</sup> Material necessities that define external support are: safe havens and transits, financial resources, direct military support, weapons and sensible materials including food, fuel and day-to-day human necessities.<sup>22</sup> Summarily, these facets define what is meant by external support in terms of its reference to this study. This definition is intended to be broad to encompass a general understanding of the extensiveness of organizational considerations. External support is necessary as a general concept in the general study of terrorism and groups specifically.

## **Literature Review**

The breadth of literature conducted on this topic reveals a compelling lack of information regarding the question, what does external support do for terrorist organizations? Rather, there is significant information on the logistics of external support, meaning how support is garnered, where external support is delegated and why external support is provided to organizations. Also, the literature demonstrates a fundamental weakness as a result of the brevity exhibited. Exploring the effects of external supports necessitates further elaboration of surface knowledge. In most cases the literature presented offers surface knowledge such as monetary support is used for the purchase and procurement of arms, explosives and ammo. By elaborating on information of this

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, Rand, 84-99.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.



caliber this chapter is able to contribute to the surface knowledge by providing dynamism and depth to the topic. In addition the literature review for this topic will provide context to the two remaining chapters which are more focused on specific tactics and strategies that are taken into account in the decision making process by terrorist organizations. There is however, significant information regarding how financial support effects terrorist organizations provided by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). The study conducted by this group offers a comprehensive analysis of the literature that exists regarding external support of terrorist organizations. This research project was initiated to provide a contemporary snapshot of the ways in which terrorist organizations raise, move and use external support.<sup>23</sup> It draws on a myriad of scholarly articles, studies, secondary resources and various government and non-governmental organizations to draw its conclusions. The focus of this literature review draws on this study because profit, not ideology, often drives terrorist organizations.<sup>24</sup> This profit is regarded in terms of monetary gains as well as the gains in operational resources like weapons, safe havens, recruits and other support mechanisms. This information is relevant to the topic at hand and speaks to the breadth of literature that is currently focused on external support of terrorist organizations because it addresses the only prevalent analysis of the use of external support in terms of financial considerations. This paper will contribute to the FATF because it will add considerations outside the financial concern for uses of external support. Studying how training, weapons and material procurement, propaganda and political support are used provides depth to a topic that comprehensively is viewed in a singular dimension.

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<sup>23</sup> Force, Financial Action Task. "Terrorist financing." *Financial Action Task Force* (2008), 5.

<sup>24</sup> Martuscello, Michael. "The FATF's Nine Special Recommendations: A Too "Soft" Approach to Combating Terrorism?." *Touro International Law Review* 14, no. 2 (2011): 368.

### *The Use of External Support: A Financial Consideration*

The first step in exploring how terrorist organizations use their external support necessitates a thorough understanding of the requirements of each organization respectively.<sup>25</sup> Resource allocation is not only needed for the execution of attacks, but also for maintaining an organization's structure, ideology and support base. Financial contributions are inevitably the most significant form of external support to an organization. They provide for the operational execution phases as well as the financial obligations of sustaining an organization. Funds are used to promote ideology, pay wages to militants and/or their families, logistics, training and weapons acquisition to name a few.<sup>26</sup> The financial support aspect of external support is necessary not only to support terror operations, but also to meet broader organizational goals of developing and maintaining a terrorist organization and to create an enabling environment required to sustain their activities.<sup>27</sup>

Terrorist financing requirements reflects the diversity between organizations.<sup>28</sup> Terrorist organizations vary significantly, from large organizations like al Qaeda and ISIS to small decentralized networks like al Qaeda affiliates al Nusra Front and Ansar al Islam.<sup>29</sup> Existing literature on the use of external support focuses on direct operational requirements. That is, requirements that are needed to be funded for the effort of carrying out terrorist attacks. Monetary support gained by terrorist organizations causes harm to their targets, host nations and the West in a myriad of ways. Funds received through

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<sup>25</sup> United Nations (2001), *UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) [Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts]*, New York, [www.un.org/Docs/scres/2001/sc2001.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2001/sc2001.htm).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, Force, 7.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, Force, 4.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, Force, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

external support allow terrorist groups the opportunity to purchase arms, ammunitions and explosives to be used against their enemies.<sup>30</sup> The resources required for direct operational support vary based on the precursor materials necessary for an attack, such as vehicles, improvised bomb-making components, maps, surveillance material etc.<sup>31</sup> Financial support is needed to pay salaries to militants for day to day expenses including communication resources.<sup>32</sup> Financing training, travel and logistics are not only fundamental to the operational aspect, but also the psychological aspect of ideological indoctrination.<sup>33</sup> The direct cost of carrying out individual attacks remains relatively low in comparison to the cost of the damage inflicted by the attack.<sup>34</sup> This damage is costly in terms of short term implications following the attack, as well as long term effects on counterterrorism efforts. This literature is significant to the premise of this study because it speaks to the challenges of counterterrorism efforts. Financing as a general consideration insinuates the notion of longevity. The uses of terrorist financing as described in this literature contribute not only to the longevity of a terrorist organization, but also to its threat assessment. The three factors combined in the premise of this study are all relevant in terms of the financial considerations presented. Financing provides tactical support capable of defending and attacking against counterterrorist forces. Financial contributions to the life cycle of a terrorist not only sustain an operational cell, but inevitably create a formidable threat to a terrorist organizations' enemy. Furthermore,

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<sup>30</sup> Billingslea, William. "Illicit cigarette trafficking and the funding of terrorism." *Police Chief* 71, no. 2 (2004): 49-56.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, Force, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Abuza, Zachary. "Funding terrorism in Southeast Asia: the financial network of Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiya." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2003): 169-199.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, Force, 8.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, Force, 4.

financial contributions tend to cause an increase in indigenous support of host nations as will be discussed further in this review.

Providing for the existence of a terrorist organization also includes financing for broader support activities. That is, maintaining a terrorist network or operational cell, supporting infrastructure, providing for recruitment, promoting ideology, planning, and procurement between attacks, all of which conceptualize the importance of terrorism financing.<sup>35</sup> Maintaining the broader support activities of an organization is required to sustain a global network and promote an organization's agenda.

Terrorist organizations often utilize complicit charities and businesses to support their activities.<sup>36</sup> These groups manipulate charities as a source of funding for terrorist attacks and terrorist recruitment by providing a veil of legitimacy over an organization based on terrorism.<sup>37</sup> The Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) is representative of the effects of external support. Between 1998 and 1991, ASG reaped the benefits of external support through funds sent from al Qaeda for purposes of recruitment, organization and operational assistance.<sup>38</sup> Its leader, Ustadz Janjalani befriended Osama Bin Laden who liked his ideology and subsequently funded his organization.<sup>39</sup> For the most part ASG's funding was funneled through the global charity Islamic International Relief Organization (IIRO) which was conveniently founded by Osama Bin Laden's brother in law Jamal Khalifa. This charity provided the perfect veil of legitimacy for ASG operating in the Philippines. It provided construction of an orphanage, pharmacy dispensaries, floating

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, Force, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, Force, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Kohlmann, Evan F. (2006), *The role of Islamic charities in international terrorist recruitment and financing*, DIIS Working Paper No. 2006/7, Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, [www.diis.dk](http://www.diis.dk).

<sup>38</sup> Abuza, Zachary (2005), *Back Terrorism: The Return of the Abu Sayyaf*, US War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 2.

clinics, food and clothing to displaced people who fled war zones, schools and scholarships.<sup>40</sup> The Philippine National Security Advisor summed up this veil by claiming, “Khalifa built of the good will of the community through charity and then turned segments of the population into agents.”<sup>41</sup> External support in this magnitude alludes to the second factor mentioned in this argument in that it increases popular support within the host nation. The legitimate functions of organizations like charities and nonprofits are utilized by terrorist organizations to illicit an ideological fulfillment of their platforms as an alternative to Western influence and host governments.

The ways in which terrorist organizations are funded are essential to this study, but only represents a singular dimension to the study of how external support affects terrorist organizations. The broad spectrum of financial considerations explored above highlight the distinction between financial functions of operational support and the financial uses of broader support activities. The literature on these two general areas drawn from the study on terrorist financing by the Financial Action Task Force comprehensively addresses the effects of external support on the existence of terrorist organization through a focus on financial considerations. A vulnerability of this subject matter is the lack of depth in the literature which focuses on the uses of finances. Rather, the literature demonstrates a consensus that there is an increased focus on the logistics of financial support, that being, ways in which terrorist organizations raise funds and obtain support and how they move funds or support. What the literature fails to do is offer literature that is beyond surface consumption of what financial support is used for which comprehensively refers to the notion that finances are used to fund direct operational

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid, Abuza, 5.

<sup>41</sup> Lander, Mark. “US Advisors May Aid Phillippine Anti-Terror Effort,” *New York Times*, October 11, 2001, p.B4.

requirements such as attacks. Detailing these uses enables a thorough counterterrorism effort of fragmenting extensive financial support systems that significantly contributes to the longevity of a terrorist organization.

### *Obtaining External Support*

The literature shows a principal interest in how organizations raise and obtain external support, but also clearly shows overlap between how funds are used through legitimate sources, as mentioned in the previous section and how legitimate sources are used to raise and sustain external support. Creating the veil of legitimacy allows an organization to legally obtain external support resources around global restrictions and sanctions which seek to prevent this very activity. Obtaining external support is inclusive of raising funds which occur through state sponsorship, self-financing and propaganda which seeks to garner ideological support for their actions.<sup>42</sup> Obtaining external support occurs in a myriad of ways across a quantitative spectrum ranging from large scale support mechanisms like state sponsorship, global financial networks, and global organizational networks like al Qaeda and its small affiliates, to small scale support like self-financing, local support and criminal activity.<sup>43</sup>

The extensive sources of external support garnered by terrorist organizations primarily derive from legitimate sources that sympathize with terrorist groups, are manipulated by their narrative, or seek objectives through a proxy group. “Black-washing” is a significant concept worth consideration in this very topic.<sup>44</sup> It is the mechanism where legal funds such as those stemming from charities, governmental

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, Force, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, Force, 11.

<sup>44</sup> Martuscello, Michael. "The FATF's Nine Special Recommendations: A Too "Soft" Approach to Combating Terrorism?." *Touro International Law Review* 14, no. 2 (2011): 371.

subsidies and social benefits are diverted to terrorist organizations for efforts of radicalization, recruitment or acts of terror.<sup>45</sup>

By nature terrorist organizations often seek to capitalize on vulnerabilities and weaknesses of societies, regions, organizations and states. They do so to create a safe haven for their organizations and to facilitate their operations, ideologies and sustainment of their existence. In consideration of the latter, charities and non-profit organizations possess characteristics that make them extremely attractive to terrorist organizations that can capitalize on their vulnerabilities and weakness in an effort to raise and obtain external support.<sup>46</sup> The Financial Action Task Force found that terrorist groups take advantage of charities and non-profit organizations' public trust, their cash-intensive operations and more importantly their considerable sources of support.<sup>47</sup> Capitalizing on these organizations enable terrorist organizations to delve past existential vulnerabilities of the principal groups they wish to take advantage of and likewise do so to the support systems of those groups. Terrorist organizations successfully obtain external support and raise funds for operations by operating behind a veil of legitimacy via these groups. The Financial Action Task Force concludes that misusing charities and non-profits for obtaining support is recognized as a critical vulnerability in the global counterterrorism effort to eliminate external support.<sup>48</sup>

Legitimate businesses represent a facet of how terrorist organizations obtain external support.<sup>49</sup> The literature shows a significant overlap of mechanisms by which terrorist groups utilize businesses to raise capital and obtain resources for operation,

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, Force, 11.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, Force, 11.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> FATF (2002), *Best Practices paper on Special Recommendation VIII*, FATF, Paris. [www.fatf-gafi.org](http://www.fatf-gafi.org).

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, Force, 13.

similar to their manipulation of charities. The literature shows that legitimate businesses are often monitored by banks in terms of the flow of funds and financial transactions. As a result, in the event that the flow of funds is disproportionate to normal business activity of a company, suspicion of black washing is likely.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, legitimate businesses are one of the many sources utilized by terrorist organizations for obtaining external support. Businesses that do not require substantial investments are able to operate around financial regulations within the market that would ordinarily be flagged in the event of irregular monetary activity.<sup>51</sup> For example, in cases where sales reported and actual sales are difficult to verify, legitimate businesses are able to act as a proxy to terrorist organizations.<sup>52</sup> As a result, terrorist organizations are highly concerned with preventing the legitimate origin of funds from being discovered to ensure that their benefactors escape punishment and can continue funding terrorist activity.<sup>53</sup>

Obtaining external support through criminal activity remains an attractive option for terrorist organizations, particularly for nascent groups, decentralized and independent cells which struggle to obtain access to foreign support.<sup>54</sup> Procurement of direct operational support and increased funding often comes as a result of criminal activity such as arms trafficking , kidnap-for-ransom, extortion, drug trafficking, and racketeering to name a few. <sup>55</sup> Increased international pressure on state sponsorship of terrorism has compelled organizations to rely heavily on criminal activity to obtain support resources.<sup>56</sup>

The literature available inherently suggests that with the fragility of reliance on large

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid, Force, 14.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, Force, 13.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, Force, 13.

<sup>53</sup> Martuscello, Michael. "The FATF's Nine Special Recommendations: A Too "Soft" Approach to Combating Terrorism?." *Touro International Law Review* 14, no. 2 (2011): 371.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, Force, 15.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.



scale support networks like businesses and state sponsors, small scale operations such as criminal activity remain an attractive alternative. Terrorists have been known to engage in narcotics, credit card fraud, check fraud and extortion.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, capitalizing on expatriate or diaspora communities globally decentralizes their external support system by adding variety to their sources. Extorting diaspora or expatriate communities enables consistency to support systems by eliciting fear of retribution to relatives in the country of origin.<sup>58</sup> Criminal activity is a secure method of obtaining external support. It mitigates a paper trail, it is inexpensive, it remains consistent and it even negates a quid pro quo relationship with external networks.

In the event that obtaining and raising external support is high, terrorist organizations are able to sustain their operations over a course of time, while enjoying the benefit of increasing their support network as a result. Adding to their pervasiveness attests to the three factors evaluated in this study. A larger network is increasingly more difficult to counter. Popular support as a result of the veil of legitimacy increases indigenous support by fulfilling legitimate services. Lastly, the persistence of obtaining and raising support significantly contributes to the legitimacy of a terror threat by sustaining the lifecycle of a terrorist. Despite these considerations, the literature presented in this section is weakened by the absence of how those support resources and sources are used. Are specific sources used for specific means? Similarly, how are the funds that are raised being used in consideration of the direct operational necessities and the broad support requirements previously mentioned? Literature on these subjects will provide depth to a topic inundated with surface knowledge. The literature on how terrorist

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid, Force, 15.

<sup>58</sup> Kurth Cronin, Audrey, *et al.* (2004), *Foreign Terrorist Organisations: CRS Report for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, Washington DC, [www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL32223.pdf](http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL32223.pdf).

organizations raise and obtain support can be transcribed to provide context for understanding the broader components of external support. However, for purposes of sound counterterrorism efforts, literature on the utility of external support provides the framework for unraveling the complex layers of support which provides for the longevity and success of a terrorist organization.

### *The Movement of External Support*

The movement of resources provides tactical context necessary in understanding how external support is used. Understanding the utilization of external support requires first understanding its point of destination and its source of origin. The literature in this section contributes to my argument by enhancing a logistical perspective of interpreting external support. Namely, the degree of ambiguity involved in the movement of external support delineates the capabilities of counterterrorism efforts. This increases the threat of the organization to the global community, effectively sustains operations and their support systems and enables longevity of an organization by maintaining an extensive network of logistical support.

There remains a variety of mechanisms by which external support is moved, but the literature comprehensively presents three fundamental methods that terrorist organizations utilize to transfer external support. The first is through the use of the financial system, the second utilizes physical human movements and the third is through the operational logistics of the international trade system.<sup>59</sup> “The multiplicity of organizational structures employed by terrorist networks, the continuing evolution of techniques in response to international measures and the opportunistic nature of terrorist financing all make it difficult to identify a favored or most common method of

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, Force, 21.

transmission.”<sup>60</sup> Utilizing the three methods of movement enable terrorist groups to meet their needs and sustain their organization within an enabling environment. Adhering to direct operational support requirements and the broader support activity requirements are essential to the existence of terrorist organizations, thus these three comprehensive methods are essential to the literature on this topic.

Broader support activities which include maintaining a group’s capacity, often are best facilitated using the conventional financing system.<sup>61</sup> By doing so, funds can be secure by hiding behind the veil of legitimacy as discussed in the previous sections, thus movement of financial support systems remain effective and efficient. The speed and ease of the conventional financial system allows supporters an effective mechanism of contribution which transcends legal, political, or geographical limitations. Money and value transfer mechanisms are used for large scale fund transferring operations and with small scale alternative remittance systems.<sup>62</sup> This method of movement refers to financial transactions for an individual through a financial institution by electronic means with the intent of making the funds available to a person at another financial institution.<sup>63</sup> The Financial Action Task Force found that in several cases of terrorism, radicals, sympathizers and other supporters of terrorist organizations utilized global operating money transfer companies to send or receive funds.<sup>64</sup> This literature presented the opportunity to evaluate a significant weakness of terrorist organization’s reliance on financial movement systems.<sup>65</sup> Electronic financial transfers enabled authorities to

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, Force, 21.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, Force, 22.

<sup>65</sup> FATF (2004), *Typologies Report 2003-2004*, FATF, Paris. [www.fatf-gafi.org](http://www.fatf-gafi.org).

develop an organizational map of identifying contacts and the extent of their network.<sup>66</sup> While this method of movement has its benefits and enables effective and efficient advantages, the risk not only effects the financial implications, but also endangers the broader organizational aspects through identification of key players involved in external support networks. On the other hand, the two other methods of movement are particularly utilized for specific purposes most directed at operational implications such as imminent attacks.

The research drawn from the Financial Action Task Force showed that the international trade system is subjected to significant vulnerabilities that enable terrorist organizations the opportunity to move value and goods under a veil of legitimacy, similar to their financial operations.<sup>67</sup> For the most part however, the trade system is used to launder money. Inaccurate inventories or ambiguity to product values allows for terrorist organizations to manipulate the trade system for financial profit.<sup>68</sup> Simple goods such as day to day necessities for operatives are consistently shipped internationally using the trade systems. Ingredients for explosives including the chemical and component parts are standard products that can often be shipped legitimately in consideration of trade regulations. Furthermore, terrorist groups enjoy the benefit of using their external support system by eliciting legitimate businesses as the final destination of their trade products. By utilizing the international trade system, terrorist groups are able to mitigate suspicion of terrorist activities, protect against their source of origin and essentially meet the direct operational requirements of the organization. These methods and techniques of

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, Force, 22.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, Force, 23.

<sup>68</sup> Del Cid Gómez, Juan Miguel. "A financial profile of the terrorism of Al-Qaeda and its affiliates." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, no. 4 (2010): 15.

manipulating the trade system through legitimate means make counterterrorism efforts challenging.

The physical movement of external support refers to human activity which takes individual accountability for the movement of funds, goods and services. The increase of international pressure and counterterrorism efforts has compelled terrorist groups to decentralize their methods of movement from globalized networks of an electronic utility to human couriers.<sup>69</sup> By doing so terrorist organizations mitigate disruption, operate without political and legal limitations and most importantly it adheres to a strong foundation of accountability. Detection and identification remain a challenge to counterterrorism efforts when resources, including cash funds, are moved through human agents. These implications have compelled a significant rise in the adoption of human movement of external support resources and their success remains a challenge to counterterrorism efforts.<sup>70</sup> Apart from eluding authorities, adopting this mechanism is often a result of specific countries lacking an electronic banking system.<sup>71</sup> In many cases couriers are used to move finances and goods that were obtained outside of regulated markets and intended to remain as such to avoid detection.<sup>72</sup> When cross border regulations interdict the transfer of goods and services, employing human agents to move external support resources enables the origin and end use of these resources to appear unclear to authorities.<sup>73</sup>

Due to its prevalence among terrorist organization, a brief review of the Hawala system is essential to this literature. It is an informal system that fuses the concepts of

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, Del Cid Gomez, 15.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, Force, 23.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, Force, 24

using, obtaining and moving financial support for terrorist activity which is essential to the broader scope of external support. Hawala is the form of transporting financial obligations from one place to another without the physical movement of cash and without the paper trail.<sup>74</sup> Trust and honor are distinguishing characteristics that differentiate Hawala from the other informal systems utilized throughout external support means.<sup>75</sup> Terrorist organizations that wish to move legally obtained funds or launder money raised by illegal activities utilize the Hawala system for its security, versatility and anonymity.<sup>76</sup> This system is benefited by its legitimacy espoused as a mechanism to fill the void in rural areas where people have no access to the former financial system.<sup>77</sup> Its prevalence is seen through its use in the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, in South East Asia and throughout several parts of Africa.<sup>78</sup> Despite its legitimacy, terrorist organizations manipulate this system to transfer funds that were procured via charities, criminal activity, state sponsors and wealthy donors.<sup>79</sup> The Hawala system is characteristically representative of the external support system that provides for the existence of terrorist organizations.

Due to the nature of their support mechanisms and the fact that terrorism is a form of asymmetrical warfare, combating the uses of external support remains a challenge to counterterrorism efforts.<sup>80</sup> Identifying the effects of external support presents a daunting task to all parties involved in counterterrorism efforts globally. The study of external support should be less concerned with the source and logistics of the support as most

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, Del Cid Gomez, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Abuza, Zachary. "Funding terrorism in Southeast Asia: the financial network of Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiya." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2003): 169-199.

literature presents and more concerned with what the support will be used for. The literature presented shows a prevalence of cases by which the raising, moving and using of external support for terrorism remains a challenge for counterterrorism efforts. Their adaptability and use of legitimate sources make identification and disruption of terrorist support networks difficult.<sup>81</sup> These groups use informal support networks that do not operate within a structured organization with clear lines of accountability.<sup>82</sup> Although the source of external support and the mechanism for movement remain to some extent at risk, the challenge of external support lies in determining the uses of the support.<sup>83</sup> The utilization of resources are predetermined by the requirements of an organization which vary between each group.

### *Theory and Hypothesis*

Based on relevant theories in the study of external support of terrorist organizations, three common effects most contribute to the existence of terrorist organizations. First, the ambiguity and complexity of the external support network through their use of a veil of legitimacy increasingly challenges counterterrorism efforts. Second, external support increases popular support within the host nation. Lastly, external support contributes to the lifecycle of a terrorist, thus creating a formidable threat to the global community. This paper will explore the hypothesis that terrorist organizations necessitate all three of these common factors to sustain longevity of their existence while maintaining an extensive network of direct operational support and broader support activities. If this is true I would expect to see counterterrorism efforts mitigate the longevity of terrorist organizations through efforts aimed at eradicating only

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, Force, 21.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Drawn from conclusions presented by Force (21).

one common factor, thus fractionalizing their organization and support system over a shorter period of time. Organizations like al Qaeda and Hezbollah benefit from an extensive external support system and are able to sustain their organization and continually utilized their procured resources for a myriad of functions including attacks. Countering a fractionalized organization increases the likelihood of success in terms of counterterrorism efforts. I concede that terrorism is inevitable and challenging to eradicate entirely, however severing the opportunity for longevity diminishes the scale of attacks, weakens popular support and fractionalizes broader support activities, thus impeding the existence of a terrorist organization.

### **Case Study**

Answering the question addressed in this study requires the expectation of meeting all three common factors that contribute to the existence of terrorist organizations and their extensive networks. These three factors are: 1. Ambiguities and complexities of external support through the use of veils of legitimacy which challenge counterterrorism efforts. 2. Popular support within a host nation. 3. Extensive financial contributions to the lifecycle of a terrorist. Through an evaluation of these three factors, I expect to find that in the event that a terrorist organization meets all three, that respective organization will reap the benefits of an extensive support network, appear a formidable threat to the global community and enjoy a prolonged existence. If only one of these factors do not qualify for an organization, then I expect to find that this organization's existence will be short term, their cause will appear trivial and their support network will weaken tremendously.



For my case study I will use three organizations that will duly test these considerations: al Qaeda, Hezbollah and Basque Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, better known as ETA. Al Qaeda and Hezbollah provide a regional consideration for a great deal of the principal interest explored throughout this study. They represent religious-political terrorist organizations that use a religious idiom and shape their mandate in divine terms with political goals.<sup>84</sup> More over each organization represents a significant distinguishing sect: Sunni (al Qaeda) and Shi'a (Hezbollah), which will delineate a religious bias for influence on the three factors being addressed. ETA legitimizes the case study by geographically distinguishing itself from the regional concentration of the Middle East. They categorize as a National Liberation terrorist organization which further distinguishes them from the geo-ideological groups that influence this study. Above all, all three groups are recognized as legitimate terrorist organizations by legitimate authorities including the United States of America and the European Union, but represent significantly different outcomes in accordance to the three factors that will be explored within this case study.

### *Al Qaeda*

Al Qaeda represents a fundamental case study in terms of their breadth of external support including their extensive financial network that is a model to terrorist organizations today. Their means and methods to raise, move and use finances have challenged counterterrorism efforts through their use of a cadre of legitimate sources.<sup>85</sup> The organization has developed an elusive network and an unconventional web of

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<sup>84</sup> Zalman, Amy. "Terrorist Groups—A list of Terrorist Groups by Type: From Pre-Modern to Present-Day". *About News and Issues*. [Terrorism.about.com](http://Terrorism.about.com) (2014).

<sup>85</sup> Roth, John, Douglas Greenburg, Serena Wille, and Alice Falk. *Monograph on Terrorist Financing: Staff Report to the Commission*. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 2004, 18.

external support that eludes appropriate authorities by disassociating the real intentions, operations and origins of support from legitimate sources.<sup>86</sup> Doing so maintains a resilient, redundant and challenging conduit of external support from the perspective of counterterrorism efforts.<sup>87</sup>

Al Qaeda's external support system challenges counterterrorism efforts through ambiguous and complex methods of utilizing a veil of legitimacy to fund their activities. Prior to 9/11 the CIA estimates that it cost al Qaeda \$30 million per year to sustain its activities.<sup>88</sup> This statistic rose tenfold following the attacks on the United States and the subsequent conflicts in the Middle East against coalition forces. These large sums of finances however, required the need of sources which could not only donate large funds, but also utilize their legitimacy as a veil for financing terrorism. These financial facilitators include donors, charities, mosques and businesses who often are unaware of the origins of their donations.<sup>89</sup> As a result of the success of religious manipulation by al Qaeda, charities not only divert their efforts to assisting the needy, but also in support of political goals of the organization which viewed Islam as a way to combat Western influence.<sup>90</sup> The use of human agents to penetrate charities and divert funds to the organization was one way that the organization utilized charitable organizations. The lax of financial oversight, particularly over transactions made in remote regions was a vulnerability that al Qaeda not only recognized, but also took advantage of. Saudi charity organizations represent a large percentage of al Qaeda financial contributors.

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<sup>86</sup> Intelligence Reporting, Apr. 12, 2001. The discussion of al Qaeda financing in this chapter is derived from an extensive review of documents from State, Treasury and the intelligence community. As Cited in Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, Roth, 18.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, Roth, 19.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>90</sup> Brisard, Jean-Charles. Terrorism Financing: Roots and Trends of Saudi Terrorism Financing: Report Prepared for the President of the Security Council, United Nations. JCB Consulting, 2003, 26.

Comprehensively, out of 241 operational charities in Saudi Arabia, they receive annually between \$3 billion to \$4 billion. Of those funds 10% to 20% is sent abroad, namely in support of al Qaeda and its regional affiliates.<sup>91</sup>

Another factor that explains the use of charities as a veil of legitimacy is the fact that most influential Islamic charities are founded and/or controlled by radical religious or political leaders.<sup>92</sup> One case example is the Muslim World League which was created by Said Ramadan who was the son of the founder of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. He and other scholars of Islamic Jurisprudence manipulated religious content to garner support from activities by justifying their function in terms that terrorism is not equal to Jihad. "Jihad is meant for upholding right, ending injustice, ensuring peace and security and establishing mercy. Terrorism and violence committed by the aggressor who usurp the land, desecrate holy sanctuaries and loot wealth cannot be compared to the practice of the right of legitimate defense as used by the oppressed seeking to gain their legitimate rights to self-determination."<sup>93</sup> Another charitable organization that utilizes its function as a veil to fund al Qaeda is the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), founded by Osama Bin Laden's brother in law, Mohammad Jamal Khalifa.<sup>94</sup> The assumptions of al Qaeda funding based on the relationship are valid. Investigations of financial controls of humanitarian organizations by the Bosnian government found that six organizations showed irregularities in their business deals including the IIRO.<sup>95</sup> The absence of legal and proper documentation of their financial activities showed accounting that was not

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, Brisard, 27.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

equal to the actual situation determined by inventories.<sup>96</sup> The weakness in financial regulation and Saudi Arabia's unwillingness to control oversight enables charitable organizations to operate as a veil of legitimacy for al Qaeda.<sup>97</sup>

The premier mechanism for financial support in Islam was set up under the Islamic rule of Zakat, a legal contribution required as one of the five pillars of Islam on assets and items of income.<sup>98</sup> Imams at Mosques across the world were also influenced to divert zakat funds by encouraging support for radical Islamic causes.<sup>99</sup> Zakat funds are estimated annually around \$10 billion dollars in Saudi Arabia alone.<sup>100</sup> Oversight of Zakat globally lacks oversight of transparency, accounting and auditing, thus enabling a legal duty to be utilized as a legitimate instrument to fund terrorism.<sup>101</sup> By relying on the Islamic banking institutions, whose premier function is to contribute and manage Zakat funds, Osama Bin Laden partnered with several other Islamic banks to form Al Shamal Islamic Bank.<sup>102</sup> This institution provided funding for al Qaeda operating in the Middle East and Africa.<sup>103</sup> These funds provide only a gauge of the legitimate sources of income for al Qaeda. Funding produced by criminal activities and illegal drug trade operate under covert measures, thus making it difficult to quantify this funding, although it is believed to measure in the millions of dollars.

Popular support of al Qaeda in Pakistan remained high into the latter years of the last decade, but has dwindled increasingly since 2008. Polls taken by Terror Free Tomorrow, an international public opinion research group, significantly conveyed this

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, Roth, 20.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, Roth, 12.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, Brisard, 21.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, Brisard, 21.

notion in their findings. This remains parallel to the popular belief by analysts that al Qaeda has fragmented over the last few years into a variety of regional movements that are absent of an extensive support network.<sup>104</sup> Former CIA officer, Marc Sageman qualifies al Qaeda as a loose label for a movement that targets the west, but lacks organizational significance.<sup>105</sup> An extensive public opinion survey conducted between May 25<sup>th</sup> and June 1<sup>st</sup> of 2007 of 1,306 Pakistanis covering urban and rural areas of all provinces was conducted in collaboration with the Pakistan Institute for Public Opinion.<sup>106</sup> This survey and subsequent ones, measured public support for al Qaeda, the Taliban and Osama Bin Laden. For purposes of this study, the statistics provided will be in reference to the findings on public opinion for al Qaeda only. This poll found that half of the people polled increasingly support al Qaeda.<sup>107</sup> A third of Pakistanis held a favorable opinion of al Qaeda, down from 46% that held the belief in early 2007, but still accounting for the majority.<sup>108</sup> In fact, when asked who was to blame for violence in the region, 52% blamed the United States while only 8% blame al Qaeda.<sup>109</sup>

Public support was also measured in terms of al Qaeda's ideology and goals. An alarming 57% of people agreed with their goals and thus supported their agenda.<sup>110</sup> In accordance with this unit of measure, the poll questioned US military action against al Qaeda and found that 74% of people oppose this action.<sup>111</sup> Al Qaeda utilizes their tactics of manipulating the support of a host nation to gain popular support. This may come in

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<sup>104</sup> Staff, "Evolution of the al-Qaeda Brand Name", *Asia Times*. August 13, 2004.

<sup>105</sup> Blitz, James. "A Threat Transformed", *Financial Times*. January 19, 2010.

<sup>106</sup> Tomorrow, Terror Free. "Pakistanis Strongly Back Negotiations with Al Qaeda and Taliban over Military Action; Public Support for Al Qaeda Gaining Ground". *New America Foundation*. Washington, DC. May-June 2007, 4.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, Tomorrow, 4.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 7.

several forms including through charitable work, humanitarian aid and even perceiving to be a lack of threat to society. When asked what country or group posed the greatest threat to personal safety, an alarming 44% agreed that it was the USA, as opposed to 8% for al Qaeda.<sup>112</sup> These numbers represent a significant scope into public support of al Qaeda by analyzing their influence, impact, and perception on society in Pakistan, a central host to the organization.

Within months of the public survey showing favorable opinions of al Qaeda, a subsequent survey was conducted between January 19 and the 29<sup>th</sup>, which showed public support of al Qaeda in Pakistan dropped by half.<sup>113</sup> The survey was conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow: The Center for Public Opinion, D3 Systems and the Pakistan Institute for Public Opinion. Favorable opinion of al Qaeda by the Pakistani population is now measured at just 18%.<sup>114</sup> The statistics demonstrate an alarming fear that increased terrorist attacks are to blame for a sharp decline in public support. When questioned on methods and tactics used by oppositional groups and organizations to bring about change, al Qaeda's use of terrorist attacks measured at an alarming 72% of people that felt this tactic to be unjustified.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, despite declining support, 64% of Pakistani oppose counterterrorism operations in their country in pursuit of al Qaeda fighters and their safe havens.<sup>116</sup> Unfavorable opinion for al Qaeda at the end of 2007 and beginning of 2008 became endemic as a result of their tactics. Despite providing the depth of funding to al Qaeda, public support for al Qaeda in Saudi Arabia declined significantly as

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, Tomorrow, 9, (2007).

<sup>113</sup> Tomorrow, Terror Free. "Pakistani Support for Al Qaeda, Bin Laden Plunges; Moderate Parties Surge; 70% Want President Musharraf to Resign: Results of a New Nationwide Public Opinion Survey of Pakistan Before the February 18<sup>th</sup> Elections". *New America Foundation*. Washington D.C. January 2008.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, Tomorrow, 49.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, Tomorrow, 4.

well, measuring at only 15% of favorable opinion.<sup>117</sup> Saudi Arabia has been the target of a spate of attacks by al Qaeda since operations in Iraq commenced and the utilization of suicide bombings as their modus operandi became adopted.<sup>118</sup> The decline in public support is parallel across Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, countries that provide safe haven and funding respectively and who also represent a breadth of external support to al Qaeda.

Although quantitative measures of al Qaeda's finances remain brief or unknown due to the nature of their mechanisms of legitimacy, several qualitative measures allow for an explanation of the third factor worth considering; the contribution to the lifecycle of a terrorist. That is, what does al Qaeda use its money on for operatives and their operations? This literature is broad, but it is able to infer reasonable assumptions that qualify a monetary consideration onto the lifecycle of a terrorist. Al Qaeda's expenses were extensive, including funding direct operational support and broad support activities such as, maintaining training, contributing to alliances and supporting day-to-day necessities of an operative. The CIA estimates that prior to 9/11 it cost al Qaeda \$30 million to sustain these activities.<sup>119</sup> In an effort to build al Qaeda into a fully operating organization, Bin Laden focused heavy resources into the lifecycle of a terrorist.<sup>120</sup> Military training and support expenditures were a strategic investment aimed at sustain long-term operations. Furthermore, finances were used to pay salaries, provide for their training camps, including lodging and food and other living investments necessary for

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<sup>117</sup> Staff. "Poll: Most Saudis oppose al Qaeda", *CNN*. December 18, 2007.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (2004), *Monograph on Terrorist Financing*, Staff Report to the Commission, Washington DC, [www.9-11commission.gov/staff\\_statements/index.htm](http://www.9-11commission.gov/staff_statements/index.htm), 27.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, National, 23.

survival.<sup>121</sup> Adhering to these living conditions was not only essential to the lifecycle of a terrorist operating within their safe haven. Maintaining a veil of legitimacy as the 9/11 hijackers did, provides for a cover as a legitimate member of society. Funding for these necessities were a contributing factor in the overall assessment of al Qaeda financing which often ranged anywhere from tens to hundreds of thousands of dollars to carry out significant attacks. The 1998 Embassy bombing in East Africa cost approximately \$10,000, the 9/11 attacks cost approximately \$400,000-500,000; the October 18, 2002 Bali Bombings cost approximately \$20,000.<sup>122</sup> Depending on the degree of the attack, it remains clear that contributions to the terrorist lifecycle are essential to an organization. Their cyclical nature will vary inevitably depending on the scope of the attack, i.e. length of time, arms and ammunition, logistics, or distance from host nation. Nevertheless, sustainment of this factor allows for operational success as well as the sustainability of an organization over a long period of time.

### *Hezbollah*

Hezbollah is perhaps the most ideal terrorist organization that reaps the benefits of an extensive external support system through their use of a veil of legitimacy. The organization not only acts as a political movement which holds eleven of thirty cabinet seats in the Lebanese government<sup>123</sup>, it also acts as a social service provider as well as a militia that has been characterized by the United States, European Union, the UK, Australian, France, Canada and the Gulf Cooperation Council as a terrorist organization.<sup>124</sup> Although the absence of publicly documented records remains prevalent,

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid, National, 23.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 27-28.

<sup>123</sup> "Hezbollah" *Council on Foreign Relations*. September 13, 2008.

<sup>124</sup> Schuster, Henry. "Hezbollah's Secret Weapon". *CNN*. July 25, 2006.



studies and intelligence analysis has provided compelling evidence that Hezbollah meets all three factors of consideration at the forefront of this study. Their case is unique because each factor maintains a causal relationship between the remaining factors. Their veil of legitimacy enables public support which in effect allows the organization to enjoy extensive funding to their operations including the contribution to the terrorist lifecycle.

Hezbollah's external support system is extensive and enjoys a breadth of contributions from varying regional, political and ideological supporters. State sponsorship of the organization is significant, Western diplomats believe that from Iran alone the organization receives approximately \$200 million dollars per year.<sup>125</sup> State sponsorships aid in training, weapons, explosives, political, diplomatic and organization support from countries like Lebanon, Iran and Syria. What is clear is that in addition to support received through state sponsorship alone, the organization is supported through legitimate businesses, donations from foreign expatriates, charities and other businesses that enable Hezbollah's use of a veil of legitimacy which consequently challenge counterterrorism efforts.

Hezbollah receives significant financial support from the contributions of Hezbollah supporters living abroad particularly from Lebanese nationals living in Africa, South America and North America.<sup>126</sup> Following the crash of the Union Transport Africaines Flight 141, it became clear that an official of the African branch of Hezbollah and two of his aides were on board and killed. In the wreckage, \$2 million were discovered and officials determined that the funds were bound for the organization's

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<sup>125</sup> Levitt, Matthew. "Hezbollah: Financing terror through criminal enterprise." testimony given to Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Washington, DC 25 (2005), 3-4.

<sup>126</sup> Wilson, Scott. "Lebanese Wary of a Rising Hezbollah," *The Washington Post*, December 20, 2004, A17.

headquarters in Beirut.<sup>127</sup> Although intended as a cover of charitable giving, logical reasoning assumes that a charitable donation of this magnitude to the city that serves as the epicenter of the organization inevitably would be used in an operational funding aspect. Hezbollah supporters in the United States also have a role in charitable donations. Hezbollah supporters in Charlotte, NC organized meetings in various members' homes where collection plates were passed following viewings of Hezbollah propaganda.<sup>128</sup> Authorities investigating the activities of Hezbollah operative Assad Barakat, also demonstrate a network of economic financing from Ciudad del Este, Paraguay that was sending funds to Lebanon, disguised as a charitable offer intended to benefit families of victims of the conflict with Israel.<sup>129</sup> Charitable funds were diverse as a result of their dynamism of origin, as well as their ambiguity of use. They represent only one side of Hezbollah's veil of legitimacy.

Similar to al Qaeda, Hezbollah uses charities and other front organizations to hide its support network, although unlike al Qaeda their reliance on this type of support is much less due to the annual subsidies enjoyed by state sponsors like Iran, Syria and Lebanon. The veil of legitimacy is significant to Hezbollah's external support system. The al Aqsa International Foundation acted primarily as a front for Hamas, however Sheikh Moayad, the head of the organization, was covertly tapped admitting to the organization's office in Europe contributing to Hezbollah's operations.<sup>130</sup> Use of the veil

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<sup>127</sup> Hamid Ghiryafi, 'Hizbullah Officials Carrying Donations Reportedly Killed in Lebanese Plane Crash,' *al-Siyasah* (Kuwait ) 29 December 2003 [FBIS].

<sup>128</sup> United States v. Mohamad Youssef Hammoud, et al. United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth District.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 7.

<sup>130</sup> USA vs. Mohammed Ali Hasan al-Moyad, Affidavit in Support of Arrest Warrant, Eastern District of New York, January 5, 2003; Hizbullah (Part I): Profile of the Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Reach Sponsored by Iran and Supported by Syria," Special Information Bulletin, Intelligence and

of legitimacy is relevant throughout several other locations in the world. The Martyr's Organization admittedly supplies charity to families of suicide bombers.<sup>131</sup> Paraguayan authorities searched the home of Hezbollah operative Sobhi Mahmoud Fayad and found receipts totaling more than \$3.5 million dollars sent to Hezbollah.<sup>132</sup> They believe these contributions total over \$50 million dollars since 1995.<sup>133</sup> Although proclaimed as a charitable donation to families of attackers, these funds undoubtedly are used to pay for Hezbollah's military and terrorist operations.

Funds of legitimate means enable groups to drape itself in a veil of legitimacy, provide members with jobs and to build grassroots support among not only Shi'a, but also Sunni and Christian Lebanese as well.<sup>134</sup> As Assistant Secretary of State E. Anthony Wayne testified before Congress in 2003, donating money to charities affiliated to terrorist organizations like Hezbollah and al Qaeda, essentially frees up monies to be used to support terrorist activities.<sup>135</sup> The organization is essentially strengthened due to the ambiguity between funds for terrorist activities and those for charitable activities.<sup>136</sup> Contributions of this nature are objectionable in their own right when they contribute to an organization with a deliberate association to a group categorized as a terrorist organization or one that supports the families of suicide bombers.<sup>137</sup> According to US intelligence officials, Hezbollah also maintains several front companies which act as a

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Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies, (CSS), Israel, June 2003, available online at <http://www.intelligence.org.il/eng/bu/hizbullah/hezbollah.htm>.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 7.

<sup>132</sup> Steinitz, Mark S. "Middle East Terrorist Activity in Latin America," Policy Papers on the Americas, Vol. XIV, Study 7, Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 2003.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 7.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Testimony of E. Anthony Wayne, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, Department of State, to the House of Representatives Committee on Financial Services, September 24, 2003.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 7.

system of support to the organization.<sup>138</sup> There is little information that is available to the public which shows these front companies affiliation to Hezbollah, but they are assumed to include import and export companies which are an established modus operandi for most terrorist organizations.<sup>139</sup> The most substantial example of legitimate business enterprises being used as a legitimate front was the use of Western Union offices by Hezbollah members.<sup>140</sup> The company failed to vet local operators despite an exponential growth over a few short years in areas of conflict.<sup>141</sup> Hezbollah members that are Western Union agents would enable the terrorist organization to get a cut of the 7% service fee charge that is split between the company and the agent.<sup>142</sup> In other cases, members simply use the company to transfer and launder significant funds between nations. Hezbollah funding to Palestinian terrorist groups in the West Bank are almost entirely transferred through the Western Union including \$3 Million dollars between 2003 and 2004 alone.<sup>143</sup>

Hezbollah enjoys extensive external support resources as a result of their popular support. Popular support for Hezbollah is significant within Lebanon, but essential from the Shi'a population in general. Drawing on a study that used comprehensive survey research from Notre Dame University, this paper will demonstrate popular support of Hezbollah based on two fronts of correlation: the level of satisfaction with government performance and the degree of personal religiosity displayed by the respondents.<sup>144</sup> Essentially, Hezbollah's willingness to provide for its constituents and their message of

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 7. As cited as Author interview with US intelligence official, Washington, DC, July 2003.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 11.

<sup>141</sup> Glenn R. Simpson, "Expanding in an Age of Terror, Western Union Faces Scrutiny as Fund-Transfer System Grows In Risky Parts of the World," the *Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 2004.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 11.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, As Cited as Author interview with Israeli officials, Tel Aviv, May 2004.

<sup>144</sup> Haddad, Simon. "The origins of popular support for Lebanon's Hezbollah." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 1 (2006): 21-34.

resistance against Israel strikes resonance between the organization and its supporters.<sup>145</sup>

The political and social dimension of Hezbollah can be credited with its prevalent support base in Lebanon. For purposes of this study I will offer the analysis from the results of the measures of government satisfaction and overall support for the organization, so as to confine it to the measures that are complicit for understanding how an organization uses its popular support. By examining descriptive information on measures of attitudes and activities the research is able to account for a comprehensive conclusion on popular support of Hezbollah within the host nation. The measurement takes into account six dimensions of support for Hezbollah: endorse activities, keep arms, violence in self-defense, side with party, violence to attain objectives and continue to grow. Based on the results from the survey, a few statistics stand out. First, 84% of respondents felt that Hezbollah should maintain a militant wing to the organization, pushing away from a sole political facet to the organization.<sup>146</sup> Second, 62% of respondents overwhelming endorsed the organizations activities in general to include political and militant activities.

In terms of religiosity and its relationship to support for Hezbollah, the results were consistent. Religious saliency exhibits a positive relationship with support to Hezbollah.<sup>147</sup> Essentially, respondents who report high levels of religious devotion are more likely to support the organizations' platform and their activities including the promotion of violence.<sup>148</sup> Shi'a respondents, based on the results, essentially show a heavier motive of support if Hezbollah displays intense religiosity levels.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid, Schuster.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, Haddad, 29.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, Haddad, 31.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 31-32.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 21.

The results are not only surprising, but also alarming for counterterrorism efforts. First, Hezbollah's militant aspect is not only an essential consideration to popular support, but also necessary to avoid antagonizing members of their host nation.<sup>150</sup> Second, actions taken against Hezbollah would in fact coerce a considerable amount of supporters to side with the terrorist organization as opposed to a counterterrorist force.<sup>151</sup> The use of force against Hezbollah will create a potential for communal conflict and inevitably affect the stability of the country.<sup>152</sup> Popular support in such regard is not only essential to an organizational consideration, but also to regional stability.

Hezbollah's role in social services plays a significant role in garnering support outside of their Shi'a support network. They take on a myriad of social services including social development programs, hospitals, educational facilities and institutions, news services and even relief efforts.<sup>153</sup> Jihad al Binna's Reconstruction Campaign contributes to a large number of economic and infrastructure development projects throughout Lebanon.<sup>154</sup> In a country torn by conflict and class stratification being endemic, efforts such as these are viewed as a legitimate function of an organization filling the void of a significant government and military. An IRIN news report of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs characterized Hezbollah by identifying that they operate: four hospitals, twelve clinics, twelve schools and twelve agricultural clinics aimed at providing training for purposes of sustainability.<sup>155</sup> Their social services are

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid, Haddad, 32.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Childs, Steven. "From Identity to Militancy: The Shi'a of Hezbollah." *Comparative Strategy* 30, no. 4 (2011): 363-372.

<sup>154</sup> Sachs, Susan. "Hezbollah Offers a Helping Hand in Southern Lebanon". *The New York Times*. May 31, 2000.

<sup>155</sup> UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. "Lebanon: The many hands and faces of Hezbollah". March 29, 2006. Retrieved 10-4-14.

dynamic. It is inarguable that Hezbollah's organizational structure is strategically designed to not only meet their operational needs, but also their support goals including garnering popular support of the host nation. They have succeeded tenfold and remain an exemplary example to terrorist organizations globally who can utilize popular support as a mechanism of external support that contributes to longevity and sustainability of the organization.

Hezbollah's source of funding as a result of a strong state support network enables an increased contribution to the life cycle of a terrorist. Moreover, the cyclical nature of their political affairs throughout the Middle East enables their external support system to fuel their militant activities. Hezbollah maintains a sizable and constant flow of reliable funding as a result of Iran's largesse.<sup>156</sup> This in effect allows the organization to operate under no revenue restrictions ultimately sustaining the operatives and their needs.<sup>157</sup> Although it remains unclear whether funds are intended for specific purposes or means, a concern I addressed throughout the literature review, it is certain that these funds contribute to not only broad operational needs of the organization, but also to direct individual needs of a terrorist. Resources for operational execution, including preplanning are just as fundamental as everyday needs of living such as food, lodging and clothes. The lack of evidence in terms of the function of finances suggests that funds are used for a wide array of needs including covert and overt activities.<sup>158</sup> With a budget that appears durable and consistent as a result of an extensive system of state and local funding, Hezbollah's ability to sustain operations is inconceivable. Their lack of need to concern

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<sup>156</sup> Levitt, Matthew. "Hezbollah Finances: Funding the Party of God." *Terrorism financing and state responses: A comparative perspective* (2007): 134-51.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

themselves with contributions to the lifecycle of a terrorist allows resources to be used in other areas of need appropriate to the organization.

Specifically, Hezbollah's funds are used to further the group's overall agenda of establishing a Shi'a entity in Lebanon and radicalize Muslims against the West.<sup>159</sup>

Contributions to political and social activities contribute to the lifecycle of a terrorist in a more indirect fashion like radicalizing others for recruitment, use of social organizations for networking and resource procurements and providing a cover for operatives. Wages are paid to its operatives and annuities are paid to the families of killed or capture members.<sup>160</sup> Lastly, Hezbollah seeks to provide its members with jobs through its vast social and political networks.

#### *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)*

ETA provides dynamism to this study by representing a nationalist organization that meets the standards for evaluation and has been categorized by the United States and European Union as a terrorist organization. Their support network remains limited in comparison to the previous two terrorist organizations that enjoy a global network of external support. Nevertheless, they remain a formidable threat to Spain and warrant careful evaluation of the three factors at stake which are a determinant of its existence.

The study of the financial network which enables ETA to operate demonstrates that much like the previous two cases, ETA learned to adapt their sources of income between criminal, legal and illegal activities in an effort to maintain a semi-legal source of income.<sup>161</sup> The discovery of ETA's veil of legitimacy happened first in 1986, when

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid, Levitt, 134-151.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Basta, Ya. "Euskadi, from Dream to Shame. A Useful Guide to the Basque Tragedy". Ediciones B. 2005.



Spanish and French authorities dismantled an innocent looking workshop that belonged to a member and would later be identified as ETA's nerve center of operations in the town of Sokoa, off the French coast.<sup>162</sup> Bookkeeping that was found in the operation revealed a web of economic networks that not only financed terrorist activity, but also showed investments into the political network affiliated with the organization. €120 Euros were paid to buy out newspapers and magazines, as well as funds to provide capital to trade unions and political parties.<sup>163</sup> The web was not only intended to grow, but it was to do so by legitimate means. By the beginning of 1990 the legitimate network included the political coalition HB, the trade union LAB, the youth organization Jarrai and the coordinating arm for grassroots and popular organization KAS, the organization for promotion Basque language called Euskal Herrian Euskaraz, the patriotic student organization Ikasle Abertzaleak and other feminist, ecologist and cultural groups.<sup>164</sup> These groups were complimented with other legitimate businesses that were used to supplement profits and launder money that was gained by illegal means.<sup>165</sup> ETA established businesses that were employed by sympathizers with the intention that profits gained would be utilized to fund illegal activities. They relied on an extensive employee base so that the legitimacy of their business would grow, but also blur the lines between legitimacy and illegal activities in the eyes of authorities.

The network of accomplices widened so immensely that the existence of ETA became an economic necessity to the Basque people and the economic value of the

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid, Basta, 2005.

<sup>163</sup> Buesa, Mikel, and Thomas Baumert. "Dismantling Terrorist Economics: The Case of ETA." *Catedra de Economia del Terrorismo*. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Documento de Trabajo, n. 11. January 2012, 1-28.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, Buesa and Baumert, 6-7.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, 7.

Basque region.<sup>166</sup> In addition to the media networks that ETA bought, they also invested into the Herriko Tabernak, a chain of bars and restaurants across a swath of the Basque region that would serve as a meeting place for sympathizers of the organization.<sup>167</sup> From this location ETA had a strategic location of control of the immediate surroundings and it provided a place to plan acts of violence.<sup>168</sup>

The economic network became so widespread that in 1992 ETA organized the Udaletxe project which sought to manage and distribute the profits from the 100 businesses that make up the terrorist network.<sup>169</sup> The decision to streamline these legitimate sources inevitably contributed to the demise of ETA. Following the ruling by the Spanish National and Supreme Court, ETA and its legitimate sources became guilty by association. Subsequent charges and liquidations diminished the veil of legitimacy that ETA once enjoyed. In an effort to continue secessionist efforts and violence ETA redesigned their networks with various entities that were not tarnished by the legal ramifications.<sup>170</sup> They focused on two objectives, a company that could control logistical support through KAS and propaganda means through the newspaper Egin, both of which would eventually be eliminated by legal means.<sup>171</sup>

In an effort to revamp its veil of legitimacy and contribute politically, ETA also focused its efforts on controlling a political party which they found in Batasuna.<sup>172</sup> ETA's institutional gains by obtaining this party in their control has enabled a large political representation in the Basque region, but more importantly it acted as a way of channeling

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid, Buesa and Baumert, 7.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 9.

economic resources to the terrorist organization.<sup>173</sup> Although ETA utilized Batasuna for a great deal of their financing, in 2003 the Spanish Supreme Court banned the political party which automatically cut them off from state funding that is received by all legal political parties with Parliament representation.<sup>174</sup> Essentially, ETA's veil of legitimacy was Batasuna, who enjoyed the benefits of political representation, but who's association with a terrorist network, led to their demise.

Analyzing ETA's popular support requires a historical analysis which is cyclical in their actions and the rise and fall of popular support. Compared to the rest of the provinces in Spain the Basque people differ greatly.<sup>175</sup> Economic resources of their land are rich and have thus become a focal point of the Spanish government who wished to invest in the resources.<sup>176</sup> It was inevitable that a separatist movement would form; differing social constructs and an environment that could sustain a population compelled an uprising. As the separatist movement grew under the brutal dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, ETA was created and positively viewed due to their views on race, religion and socialism.<sup>177</sup> ETA's assassination of San Sebastian police commissioner Meliton Manzana in 1968, who was notorious for torture, not only solidified the severity of their claims, but also gained a wide array of public support.<sup>178</sup> The public support acted as fuel to continued violence from ETA. Their concentrated effort to target political and governmental figures legitimized their agenda. Moreover, 77% of ETA attacks were

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid, Buesa and Baumert, 9.

<sup>174</sup> Beck, Jan Mansvelt. *Territory and terror: Conflicting nationalisms in the Basque Country*. Routledge, 2004, 173.

<sup>175</sup> Clark, Robert P. *The Basques, the Franco years and beyond*. Vol. 4. University of Nevada Press, 1979.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid, Beck, 66.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, Beck, 66.

carried out in the Basque region.<sup>179</sup> In effect, staying true to their claims garnered popular support during a time that political perception of the dictatorship was overwhelmingly negative. As it was seen, popular support during the dictatorship was increasingly positive for ETA. However, Spain's transition to a democracy in 1975 and ETA's increase of violence, specifically in the 1980's resulted in a steady loss of support.<sup>180</sup> Their progressive radicalization made it difficult for Spaniards to empathize with the organization.<sup>181</sup> Moreover, Spain's willingness to make concessions by granting relative autonomy among the Basque Provinces demonstrated a step backward for ETA who was unwilling to compromise on any one concession and continued violent action.<sup>182</sup> ETA's erosion of support came most notably with the kidnapping and assassination of a Spanish politician for the Popular Party, Miguel Angel Blanco Garrido. His death was not only important to Spanish society, but also in Basque society where ETA's own supporters condemned the killing.<sup>183</sup> In the subsequent year following the assassination of Garrido, the Spanish elections showed a statistical erosion of ETA support. Batasuna, ETA's political wing, earned only 10% of votes down from previous elections.<sup>184</sup>

ETA enjoyed an extensive support system from its inception in 1959 to its first killing in 1968. Their violent radicalization reduced their cause of independence to a violent political movement that paralleled that of several Islamic militant groups like the PLO.<sup>185</sup> Their purpose and rationale no longer appealed to the greater majority of Spaniards who saw no need for secession. The Euskobarometro, a survey conducted by

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid, Beck, 173.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, 177.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, 176.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid, Beck, 176.

<sup>183</sup> Staff, "What is ETA?". *BBC News*. Europe. September 5, 2010.

<sup>184</sup> Moreno, Luis. "Divided societies, electoral polarisation and the Basque Country." (2001).

<sup>185</sup> Ibid, Beck, 176.

Universidad del Pais Vasco, measured the views of the Basque population, those most inclined to support ETA.<sup>186</sup> The results were as follows: 64% rejected ETA entirely, 13% were former sympathizers who no longer support the group, 10% agreed with their ends, but not their means, 1 % gave ETA total support and 48% of Batasuna voters rejected ETA's violence.<sup>187</sup> Although they maintain a presence today, they have been inactive politically and violently since October 2011.

Although ETA's contribution to the lifecycle of a terrorist does not resemble the previous two organizations in terms of needs, the organization sought to finance itself merely in terms of broader support activities. That is, contributions to resources needed to carry out a specific attack. Day to day necessities, long term logistical resources and other direct operational resources were of no consideration simply as a result of the nature of ETA's attacks. They were regionally confined to the provinces of the Basque region. They were often short term considerations and did not always require a suicide mission for success of the objective. Extortion has undoubtedly become one of ETA's main sources of income. From 1978 to 2008 alone this practice garnered 115 million Euros based strictly off of records that have been obtained, thus suggesting this number to be a minimum. In terms of contributing to a terrorist lifecycle however, it is reasonable to assume that the practice of extortion requires minimal funding. Thus low cost resources such as intelligence and strategic planning are all the resources necessary in such a case.

Contributions to a terrorist lifecycle in terms of a terrorist organization that pursues a regional agenda and nationalist intents, requires much broader support activities than the long term resources required for transnational missions such as those carried out

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<sup>186</sup> Euskobarometro. "Euskobarometro Mayo 2009". Basque Country. May 2009

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, Euskobarometro, 2009.

by al Qaeda and Hezbollah. Nevertheless, in terms of testing the factor within this study, the historical analysis presented earlier in the popular support literature demonstrates a compelling argument that with the demise of the organization due to the loss of popular support, the resources necessary to contribute to the lifecycle of a terrorist would have suffered as well. While the organization remained rich in resources preceding the legal crackdown and loss of popular support, these events would have compelled ETA to refocus its resources and rely much more heavily on self-financing. Fruitful agendas that benefitted from a rich external support system would inevitably narrow to include only prioritized plans of secession and linguistic preservation. The organization as a whole can no longer support the lifecycle of a terrorist without the backing of a strong external support system.

### *Results and Discussion*

Based on the relevant theories presented throughout literature, my methodology and case study sought to analyze three common factors and determine that if only one common factor did not exist or appeared weak, then the chances of longevity for that organization were unlikely. After analyzing the research to include quantitative and qualitative information, I think my hypothesis worked adequately but with limitations. The breadth of information presented on large terrorist organizations like al Qaeda and Hezbollah, as well as their extensive external support networks allowed for the information to answer the three factors at stake. Moreover, just as history has proved respective to each organization which have been around for decades, meeting the three factors has enabled both organizations to experience longevity. However, within the analysis of ETA, who suffers from a much smaller external support system there remains

little quantifiable information to support the contribution to a terrorist lifecycle factor. Reasonable conclusions can be drawn from the information, but concrete evidence lacks. Nevertheless, it is clear that they do not meet the standard of popular support and thus their lack of active existence today holds this argument to be true. Their lack of popular support challenges their funding which in effect diminishes their ability to contribute to the lifecycle of a terrorist.

It remains clear that Hezbollah benefits from a vast and extensive support network which provides for an extensive existence. Hezbollah meets all of the criteria tested in this study and thus satisfies the hypothesis at stake. Popular support is not only the result of militant activities influenced by religiosity, but rather the veil of legitimacy provides for popular support. Hezbollah in essence, serves a legitimate function in Lebanon sociopolitical culture, while simultaneously acting as a proxy to other state's agendas throughout the Middle East. Their social services are dynamic and their reliable funding enables their contributions to terrorist activity to go unrestricted. Hezbollah remains an ideal example for terrorist organizations that utilize their external support system to provide longevity to their existence.

Al Qaeda has an extensive veil of legitimacy through their use of charities, Zakat, illegal activities, and legitimate businesses. These covers create a challenge to counterterrorism efforts because they are unable to interpret the uses of external support. Identification of sources and uses essentially become unknown as a result. Contributions to the lifecycle of a terrorist are a strategic investment, namely as a result of al Qaeda's transnational agenda. Although al Qaeda enjoyed popular support for most of their existence, since 2008 it has dwindled immensely. Their radicalized violence has been

largely to blame. As a result the organization has fragmented into several regional movements. The organization is even believed to represent an identity as opposed to an actual organization. This notion holds true to the hypothesis at stake. In the event that popular support has dwindled, so too has the organization. It has fragmented as my hypothesis believed, thus creating less of a strategic threat to counterterrorism efforts.

ETA enjoyed an extensive network of legitimacy that perhaps inevitably became its downfall. Affiliated businesses and organizations inevitably became guilty by association following legal ramifications brought down upon the organization by Spanish courts. Their historical relevance essentially defined their means to their end. With the democratic transition and ETA's increased use of violence, popular support through Spain including the Basque region dropped dramatically. This in effect, constituted the demise of ETA. Moreover, as this case study presented, the inability of ETA to meet all three factors proved my hypothesis correct. ETA was challenged by inadequacies of popular support that in effect made it difficult to contribute to the lifecycle of a terrorist. As a result, they not only lost their extensive external support system, but also became fractionalized to the degree of calling five different ceasefires, one of which has continued today and contributed to their nonexistence of political or militant activity.

Based on the analysis provided in this chapter, the effects of external support are subjective based on the organization. That is, successful terrorist groups often are able to receive more external support. Just as politicians with name recognition obtain more funding from outside sources, transnational terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah and al Qaeda are able to inspire external support. This effect is a direct result of the inspiration and acquisition of popular support in and out of a host nation. Popular support



is not only a necessary factor for long term survival, but it also distinguishes between which groups are able to receive more external support. An organization in its infancy would be intelligent to carefully examine its actions based on popular support as a mechanism to garner an extensive external support system.

The case studies presented were well qualified cases which not only test al Qaeda, Hezbollah and ETA, but also the structure of the test itself. As the findings suggested, large organizations like al Qaeda and Hezbollah are useful to test due to their extensive support networks, breadth of literature, and relevance to the global community. However, ETA presented a challenge. Available information that could be plugged into the three factors was challenging to come by and necessitated reasonable and logical assumptions to be drawn at some points. Moreover, it was clear that the distinction between religious-political organizations and nationalist ones presented varying challenges, more so on the part of nationalist organizations. The interests at stake in effect, challenge all three factors because organizations that seek independence are often blind to the three factors that were tested due to their overwhelming belief in violence to achieve their aims. Whereas terrorist organizations that are motivated by religious and political implications necessitate meeting the three factors. Their goals are often political: recognition, territory, concessions from state and thus they must meet the three factors not only for success of their agenda, but also for longevity of their existence.

Given the insights provided by this chapter regarding external support, there is a breadth of literature on funding operations. Counterterrorist efforts which are intended to severely weaken, if not collapse an organization have been successful in freezing or attacking these funding networks. This paper contributes to existing literature by

providing the need for counterterrorist operations outside of funding operations which can also attack or freeze an external support system. Although this paper does not highlight specific instances of the latter occurring, it is not intended to disregard the notion of it ever happening. By the nature of national security interests and the role of covert operations, the information is either limited or not available to the public. Counterterrorism efforts that seek to fragment external support systems, leading to the collapse of the organization are possible based on the analysis provided.

## **Conclusion**

Although the literature presented on this topic is consistently redundant through the evaluation of logistical considerations and terrorist financing, it is necessary to understand in order to effectively evaluate the uses of external support. The literature aids in providing context to external support by looking at the ways in which terrorist organizations raise and move finances and surface consumption on how they use finances. While this literature is essential for context, its uses in terms of practical implications remain weak. Nevertheless, for purposes of this thesis, the context provided helps readers better understand the two following chapters which narrow the scope of the portfolio through specific tactics and strategies considered in the decision making process.

Resourcefulness of large organizations like al Qaeda and Hezbollah not only enable sustainability of their operations, but it also severely challenges counterterrorism efforts. As the study showed in the case of al Qaeda, in the event that an organization does not meet the standard of one of the three factors they will in effect suffer in terms of

their existence. Al Qaeda has been reduced to being labeled an identity for radicalized movements. Fractionalization of their organization is a serious method of counterterrorism efforts that should be tested increasingly in the future. Hezbollah not only enjoys the benefits of an extensive external support network, but they are further enabled as a result of state sponsorship. This not only contributes to their existence, but in effect threatens counterterrorism efforts for fear of countering popular support of the host nation.

Good social science has a predictive element to it, meaning, patterns that repeat themselves and thus provide valuable insight. Based on the analysis in this chapter it is logical to predict that counterterrorism efforts aimed at undermining external support outside of funding operations will provide actionable efforts that will destabilize operational capabilities and infrastructure support of a terrorist organization. Attacking a group's veil of legitimacy and popular support will severely weaken their chances for long term survival.

Understanding external support systems by looking at factors that determine a terrorist organizations existence enables counterterrorism efforts to improve their situational awareness in contemporary operational environments. That is, by narrowly confining their efforts to single factors that determine an organizations' existence, counterterrorism forces can mitigate broad strategies that lack a timetable and confine resources to specific engagements that will produce effective results. This chapter is able to contribute to efforts that seek to accomplish the latter. Moreover, it effectively contributes to a void in present literature that is focused on operational reasoning and logistical considerations of external support. This chapter attacks the commonalities of

external support and implications for understanding these factors to determine how uses effect existence. Moreover, it tests three common factors that are prevalent throughout the literature to determine how understanding the uses of external support are not only much more relevant to the discussion, but also much more necessary for counterterrorism efforts. This chapter follows a macro examination of the terrorist decision making process by focusing on the group dynamic. This is effective in conveying a general study of the role of tactics and strategies in the decision making process. The following chapter will narrow the scope of the portfolio by addressing a specific strategic calculation through the use of suicide terrorism as an organization's modus operandi.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Motivation of Suicide Terrorism as a Modus Operandi**

The decision for terrorist organizations to utilize suicide terrorism as their modus operandi is not a new phenomenon, but the frequency of this method on a world scale necessitates attention. Suicide terrorism has proven to be an equalizer to a more globalized and technologically advanced opposition. The psychological vulnerability espoused by suicide terrorism is an effect in its own right, however the practical effects of the attack itself provides implicit values for terrorist organizations that utilize this method. Exploring the motivations of organizations that employ suicide terrorism enables the opportunity to understand the rationality behind the suicide attack phenomenon and thus the degree to which it has become an equalizer. The attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Centers elicited the American response to suicide terrorism, but the method is historically rooted throughout the world, characterized by an evolution of tactics which adhere to an organization's cause in a barbaric, yet theatrical manner. Suicide terrorism is a means of warfare that is a contemporary method with a modern utility and rationality.

Modern literature often attributes suicide terrorism to Islamic radicalism, however this chapter will demonstrate the motivations behind suicide terrorism are much more complex than a religious obligation. As will be discussed later in the chapter, many scholars believe suicide terrorism is conducted out of pure fanaticism, however this chapter will show that logic and strategic calculation are utilized in the decision to employ suicide attacks. This is profound to the overall thesis which views this strategic consideration as symbiotic with the two other chapters in this portfolio. The terrorist

decision making process is one of strategic and methodical calculation, as this chapter will exemplify. This chapter will show that although the motivations behind suicide attacks differ from organization to organization, the success behind this *modus operandi* outweigh alternative options for employing terrorism. The unpredictability and sheer difficulty in identifying prospective suicide bombers makes counterterrorism efforts difficult to counter in regards to this method.

This chapter seeks to determine what motivates terrorist organizations to use suicide terrorism as their *modus operandi*. The study will examine the two categories that suicide attackers generally belong to; the individual and the group which is representative of the literature that exists on suicide terrorism. Although this chapter is focused with the tactical use of suicide terrorism for organizational objectives, the individual often is sympathetic to a group cause or manipulated to represent group ideology. Thus, the individual is evaluated in this study because they act as a platform for executing group objectives. Additionally, the role of a group is essential in understanding suicide terrorism. Individuals may act as platforms for executing suicide missions, however as the literature will demonstrate, the role of the organization is most at play in the study of motivations behind suicide terrorism.

The argument will proceed as follows. I will first define what is meant by motivations of the individual and group. By analyzing the motivations, the study of suicide terrorism is productive in its measures to thwart these influences that compel individuals to act in suicide terrorism. These efforts will come about through ideological and social efforts. Next, I will define what is meant by suicide terrorism. The subsequent section will examine literature that examines the two categories that suicide attackers

belong to: an individual and groups. Exploring these two groups will compel this study to stratify the employment of suicide attacks into two distinct groups with respective motivations that all operate with an organizational objective. Also, as the literature will demonstrate, these two groups account for a general exploration of suicide terrorism. This chapter will conclude by evaluating a case study of three organizations that account for most suicide attacks around the world: the Tamil Tigers, Hezbollah, and al Qaeda. This case study will utilize the Tamil Tigers as a secular organization to denounce a general belief that religion bears sole responsibility behind suicide terrorism. Doing so will establish a foundation for interpreting the group dynamic. Political and social implications effect an organizations employment of suicide terrorism. The study will utilize Hezbollah and al Qaeda for a non-secular perspective representing the opposing Shiite and Sunni Islamic denominations respectively. This evaluation will demonstrate a radical ideological justification for the two organizations and will emphasize manipulation of leadership capabilities as a means of justifying suicide terrorism as an effective utility for their respective cause. The prevalence of suicide terrorism is identifiable within all of these organizations both from an individual and groups perspective. After assessing each groups goals, this study will evaluate the ideological justifications and operational advantages as metrics to establish a correlation between suicide attacks and success. This will seek to show how motivations to employ suicide terrorism are much more complex than religious obligations and incentives. With such efforts these case studies will determine whether suicide terrorism has become an equalizer to a more globalized and technologically advanced opposition. Cost-effect analysis in practical and quantitative means throughout the cast studies will seek to prove

the hypothesis by evaluating how motivations influence the decision for terrorist operations to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi.

### **Defining the Concepts**

For the purpose of this study, the language used to explore this analysis will draw on the work of Audrey Cronin.<sup>188</sup> The language and terms are specifically chosen to reflect the perception of the ideas presented in this chapter and the portfolio as a whole. Although there may not be a term that is a perfect explanation of the ideas presented due to restrictive meanings or unintended perception associated in the discussion of terrorism, this study will refer to the physical means of a suicide attack.<sup>189</sup> Doing so will alleviate the generalization of bombers, or lone wolves, and instead create a sense of mission to the perpetrators. This term refers to the event where the success of the operation cannot occur without the death of the perpetrator, and he or she is aware of their imminent death.<sup>190</sup> Suicide attacks of this nature are generally carried out by individuals labeled as terrorists, which alludes to non-state actors whose goal is the threat or use of violence for political means or ideological justification against combatants, non-combatants, or civilian targets.<sup>191</sup> Suicide attacks thus remain an appropriate term in their abundant use throughout the study. This follows a suitable definition similar to that which described terrorist organizations in the first chapter, but with an individual consideration. The reference to suicide terrorism for these very reasons is an adequate representation of the variables at play.

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<sup>188</sup> Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *Terrorists and suicide attacks*. DIANE Publishing, 2009.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Atran, Scott. "Genesis of suicide terrorism." *Science* 299, no. 5612 (2003): 1534-1539.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, Cronin, 2009.



## Literature Review

### *The Origins of Suicide Terrorism*

Although suicide terrorism has been brought to global attention over the past two decades, most notably following the attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Centers, the history of this phenomenon is rich, dating back centuries. The ancient practice of suicide attack dates back to 18<sup>th</sup> century tactics used by two notorious sects, the Jewish sect of Zealots (Sicairis) in Roman occupied Judea and the Islamic Order of Assassins (Hashishiyun) during the early Christian Crusades.<sup>192</sup> “While their actions do not directly affect the intellectual evolution of contemporary suicide bombers, their actions demonstrate precedent and the ability of theologians to interpret Islamic doctrine to justify suicide terrorism.”<sup>193</sup> The organizational aspect of suicide bombing came about in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century with the emergence of the tokkotai, special attack military units that are more commonly referred to as Kamikaze pilots. Idiosyncrasies of successful suicide terrorism were present then as they are today. “Choice is often voluntary, but typically under conditions of group pressure and charismatic leadership.”<sup>194</sup> Suicide attack is most often employed as a measure of strategic desperation. Although conceived as a desperate response to losing the war, Kamikaze pilots were used as both a strategic weapons system and as a message of fanaticism with the conveyance of intimidation to its foes.<sup>195</sup> Despite the debate over effectiveness of suicide attacks over the course of time, it is unarguable to deny the level of coercion such attacks can convey.

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid, Atran, 1535.

<sup>193</sup> Bukay, David. "The Religious Foundations of Suicide Bombings." *Middle East Quarterly* (2006).

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, Atran, 1535.

<sup>195</sup> Lewis, Jeffrey William. “The Human Use of Human Beings: A Brief History of Suicide Bombings.” *Origins*. Vol. 6, Issue 7 Apr. 2013.

### *Recent History: Middle East Influence*

The current phenomenon of suicide terrorism is more closely associated with Middle East terrorist organizations. The first modern suicide bombing took place on December 15, 1981 with the bombing of the Iraqi Embassy in Beirut by the Iraqi Shi'a Islamist group al-Dawa. More importantly, this is the emergence of state-sponsored terrorism. Such a decision to utilize suicide attacks is predisposed under the assumption that suicide terrorism is a utility against a resourcefully strong opposition. Although this attack's author is still unknown, "it is likely that Ayatollah Khomeini approved its use by parties sponsored by Iranian intelligence"<sup>196</sup> in its struggle against the Iraqi government. Ideological motivation, which will be explored following this literature, provides a characteristic of suicide terrorism as a strategic investment for terrorist organizations.

Suicide bombing came into American limelight in October of 1983 when a suicide bomber detonated a truck filled with explosives on a Marine barracks in Lebanon, killing himself and 241 service men and women. "These bombings and several other high-profile blasts before them were the handiwork of Shiite militant groups sponsored by Iran, which would coalesce in the mid-1980's into Hezbollah."<sup>197</sup> Moreover, the subsequent withdrawal of U.S. and French forces from Lebanon has created both reason and context by al Qaeda for the use of suicide terrorism as an effective means.<sup>198</sup> The success of Hezbollah's role in suicide bombings spread throughout the Middle East and Asia. In late 1992 and early 1993 Palestinian terrorist organizations Hamas and

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<sup>196</sup> Atran, Scott. "Genesis of suicide terrorism." *Science* 299, no. 5612 (2003): 1534-1539.

<sup>197</sup> Lewis, Jeffrey William. "The Human Use of Human Beings: A Brief History of Suicide Bombings." *Origins*. Vol. 6, Issue 7 Apr. 2013.

<sup>198</sup> Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *Terrorists and suicide attacks*. DIANE Publishing, 2009.

Palestinian Islamic Jihad utilized suicide bombing for various political and religious motivations.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) offer an opportunity to explore suicide bombing as a utility and weapons system within the context of secularism. The employment of suicide attacks was not narrowed to a religious means of warfare. The LTTE, whose motivation is rooted in Nationalism and the creation of a Tamil state, have carried out the bloodiest campaign of suicide attacks in modern history.<sup>199</sup> In fact, they account for more than half of suicide attacks carried out since Hezbollah's use against the Marine Barracks in Beirut in 1983. Their leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran who has claimed inspiration from Hezbollah's attack of 1983, has systematically organized his group into what has been called the "Masters of Suicide Bombing".<sup>200</sup>

The organizationally sound and systematic use of suicide attacks from its origins to today provided context that suicide terrorism was not solely the result of religious extremism. The literature explored in this chapter will draw primarily from four experts in the field of suicide terrorism: Robert Pape, Audrey Cronin, Martha Crenshaw and Boaz Ganor. The utilization of suicide terrorism was a means of several different overlapping reasons including fanaticism, religion, political and strategic, which is referenced throughout this portfolio. "In each case, a shift to the use of suicide attacks, followed a period of unsuccessful open warfare against a militarily stronger [opposition]."<sup>201</sup> Thus, the use of suicide terrorism was both a means of response and a

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid, Cronin, CRS-3.

<sup>200</sup> Waldman, Amy. "Masters of Suicide Bombing: Tamil Guerrillas of Sri Lanka." *New York Times* 14 (2003): 1.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, Cronin.

strategic measure to continued awareness of their cause.<sup>202</sup> This notion justifies this thesis as a whole. The decision making process is a methodology that is constructed through symbiotic relationships through the use of calculated tactics and strategies. Historically, as presented previously, suicide terrorism is not unique to a given time period or class of individuals, however the utility of this tactic has gained prominence. Groups such as “Muslim (both Shi’ite and Sunni), Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Jewish and secular organizations...” have adopted the use of suicide attacks.<sup>203</sup> These organizations are a reflection of contemporary reality. According to Jane’s Intelligence Review, organizations that have employed suicide terrorism as a utility and strategic investment in their cause include, but are not limited to: Hezbollah, Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Tamil Tigers of Tamil Eelam, al Qaeda, and Lashkar-e-Taiba to name a few.<sup>204</sup>

#### *Motivations of the Individual*

Historic misunderstandings have long surrounded the subject of suicide terrorism at its core. Moreover, the common perception of a rational audience would view those who take part as suicide terrorist as crazy and lunatics. As literature shows however, the social environment of would-be suicide bombers are in fact contradictory to such a perception. “A number of scholars have attempted to understand this extreme behavior by looking for clues in the (a) psychological profiles of the suicide bombers, (b) external conditions of poverty or other economic woes, or (c) chaotic discourse of religious belief and ideology.”<sup>205</sup> Despite these attempts, a consensus of literature willfully determines

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid, Cronin, CRS-3.

<sup>203</sup> Laqueur, Walter. No end to war: Terrorism in the twenty-first century. Continuum, 2003, 78.

<sup>204</sup> Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *Terrorists and suicide attacks*. DIANE Publishing, 2009, CRS-5; Jane’s Intelligence Review, “Suicide Terrorism: A Global Threat”. October 20, 2000. Accessed on 02/19/104. [www.janes.com](http://www.janes.com).

<sup>205</sup> Gupta, Dipak K., and Kusum Mundra. "Suicide bombing as a strategic weapon: An empirical investigation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17, no. 4 (2005): 574.

that psychological profiles produce contradictory results. More often than not, suicide bombers have made a rational choice to carry out their attack based on a myriad of beliefs that justify their personal motivations.

Historically, suicide bombers were thought to emanate from poverty and economic hardship. Past experts who profiled suicide terrorists characterized them often as uneducated, unemployed, and socially isolated.<sup>206</sup> Modern profiles contradict this belief. For example, modern day al Qaeda members, including those responsible for the attacks of 9/11, originate from middle and upper class families.<sup>207</sup> Such individuals have had opportunities in life for economic prosperity, career aspirations and social fortunes. Nevertheless, this profile has become commonplace in the study of suicide bombers. Poverty and economic hardship are no longer sole explanations in the case of suicide terrorism, although it is a contributing factor.

Psychological profiles further contradict mainstream thought of psychological pathology existent within suicide bombers.<sup>208</sup> Rational choice, premeditated decisions, and consequential analysis disparage an individual considered mentally unstable from those considered coherent. Although most cases of suicide terrorist exhibit these cogent characteristics, this is not meant to eliminate the possibility of psychological pathology playing a role in the decisions of suicide terrorists. Palestinian psychologist note common characteristics present in many suicide bombers including, but not limited to: social

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<sup>206</sup> Merari, Ariel. "The readiness to kill and die: Suicidal terrorism in the Middle East." *Origins of terrorism* 192 (1990).

<sup>207</sup> Gupta, Dipak K., and Kusum Mundra. "Suicide bombing as a strategic weapon: An empirical investigation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17, no. 4 (2005): 574.

<sup>208</sup> Post, Jerrold. "The mind of the terrorist: Individual and group psychology of terrorist behavior." *Testimony prepared for Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities, Senate Armed Services Committee* (2001).

isolation, depression, feelings of hopelessness, guilt and shame.<sup>209</sup> However, the psychological profile of suicide victims in general fits this description. That is to say, where suicide victims and suicide bombers differ rests in the decision to end one's life, or that of many others.

Selfish motivation is common place in the individual decision to carry out a suicide attack. Motivations that illicit the individual to carry out suicide attacks are commonplace in other acts of terrorism as well, including notoriety, revenge, anger, and simple commitment to the cause.<sup>210</sup> The informal links of revenge strengthen the discussion of the individual within the scope of suicide terrorism. Suicide terrorist have even come in the form of widows, seeking revenge for their husbands death in Jihad.<sup>211</sup> That has become commonplace in modern day suicide attacks. Women or other kin seeking revenge for their loved ones, while maintaining commitment to an ideological cause has strengthened the individual in its decision to carry out suicide attacks.

As Martha Crenshaw claims in her comparative analysis of suicide terrorism, martyrdom offers the individual the opportunity to impress an audience and add significance to a life of hopelessness. The act is thought to impress those in support and add heroism and glory to the act of self-sacrifice, ultimately solidifying their name into righteous history.<sup>212</sup> Moreover, the individual consideration in this chapter contributes to the broader organizational consideration in chapter one by supporting the need for popular support as a factor to enable longevity to an organization's existence. The longstanding association of martyrdom and heroism has often glorified the role of a

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<sup>209</sup> El Sarraj, Eyad. "Suicide bombers: Dignity, despair, and the need for hope." (2002): 71-76.

<sup>210</sup> Crenshaw, Martha. "Suicide terrorism in comparative perspective." *ICT, Countering Suicide Terrorism* 21, (2002), p.21-22.

<sup>211</sup> Bloom, Mia. "Female suicide bombers: a global trend." *Daedalus* 136, no. 1 (2007): 94-102.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid, Crenshaw, 22.

suicide bomber within secular and non-secular cultures. Self-sacrifice in the form of suicide terrorism would not be employed if it did not work. Thus, the frequency and rise of suicide terrorism righteously assumes that this tactic works because “unless martyrdom was valued by society or at least by a subculture, individuals would not seek it.”<sup>213</sup> Furthermore, the decision to give up one’s life for a cause is not taken lightly both by the individual and supporters of the cause that they represent. Suicide terrorism not only functions as a measure of propaganda, but also creates authenticity and legitimizes the cause.<sup>214</sup> These properties alone are a conduit of support and recruitment not only to the cause, but to the decision of self-sacrifice. Consequently, the motivation behind the individual strengthens the role of suicide terrorism as a tactic.

Undoubtedly the analysis of the individual motivation behind suicide terrorism, distinguishes modern and contemporary thought of suicide terrorism. Motivations vary from individual to individual in their decision to become suicide terrorists and their broad spectrum of lifestyles and upbringing further solidify this notion. Although the individual has control over the choice of self-sacrifice, the group perspective accounts for the abilities to manipulate beliefs, ideology and the psychological perspective of life for potential suicide terrorists.<sup>215</sup> Thus, literature on the group perspective is critical in the study of suicide terrorism.

#### *The Group’s Role in Suicide Terrorism*

Suicide terrorism as a broad topic, has always maintained an organizational aspect to its employment. Although carried out by one or several individuals, suicide attacks

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid, Crenshaw, 22..

<sup>214</sup> Ibid

<sup>215</sup> *The Investigative Project on Terrorism*. Post Testimony, Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities, Senate Armed Service Committee, November 15, 2001.

have most often been used by terrorist organizations with a systematic apparatus for fulfilling their mission objectives. The organization's responsibilities in the use of suicide terrorism are seen in the timeline, resource and technological acquisition, targeting, ideological inspiration to the suicide bomber, and overall execution of the attack.<sup>216</sup> Most importantly, terrorist organizations have come to realize that suicide terrorism is an effective and coercive utility that has historically compelled concessions and strategically paid off.<sup>217</sup> The utility of suicide terrorism is one that demonstrates a strategic choice for terrorist organizations and enables a variety of advantages in their efforts for the cause they represent.

Suicide terrorism utilizes a manipulated form of justification for its use. What is meant by this is that regardless of the logistics behind the attack including location, timing, or target selection, the justification for such an attack will always serve in the interest of the organization. The interests at stake for any given suicide attack are broad, ranging from nationalist goals, concessions, territorial disputes, religious or ideological motivations and many more. This most notably comes as a consequence of catastrophic attacks that produce high degrees of casualties and extensive damage. Such an attack creates a media frenzy which inevitably "indicates a display of great determination and inclination for self-sacrifice on the part of terrorists."<sup>218</sup> As Robert Pape demonstrates in data drawn from the U.S. Department of State, all suicide campaigns carried out between 1980 and 2001 accounted for only 3% of terrorists' activities, while still accounting for

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<sup>216</sup> Ganor, Boaz. "The rationality of the Islamic radical suicide attack phenomenon." *Countering Suicide Terrorism, Institute of Counter Terrorism* (2000): 9.

<sup>217</sup> Pape, Robert A. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American political science review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 344.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, Ganor, 9.



48% of deaths due to terrorism.<sup>219</sup> Such catastrophic effects play into modern terrorism's use of psychological warfare which characterizes suicide terrorism as an effective *modus operandi*.<sup>220</sup> These psychological implications are believed to serve in the interest of the group by compelling a target to respond or concede to an organization's interest.<sup>221</sup> Thus, from the perspective of the group, this effect motivates an organization to employ suicide terrorism as a strategic choice.

Being identified and remaining relevant to the international community is also essential to the organizations that recruit suicide bombers. The consequence of suicide attacks on innocent men, women and children compel the international audience to pay attention to such events when they are broadcasted throughout the media. Furthermore, the audacity of self-sacrifice compels the international community to acknowledge not only the organizations' existence, but also the solemnity and legitimacy of their cause.<sup>222</sup> "Since the main effect of the violence is intended to be pressed upon an audience, the shocking nature of the attack is part of the calculation."<sup>223</sup>

Drawing from a diaspora of international support, terrorist organizations can often capitalize on the financial incentives behind suicide terrorism. The *Shahid*, or martyr, that carries out a suicide attack is often thought to be acting upon the interest of the nation he/she represents.<sup>224</sup> Thus, the success of a suicide attack on a specific target fulfills the state and/or the organization's political, nationalistic or separatist goal.<sup>225</sup> Empathy for

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<sup>219</sup> Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *Terrorists and suicide attacks*. DIANE Publishing, 2009. As cited by Pape, Robert A. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American political science review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 348.

<sup>220</sup> Horgan, John. *The psychology of terrorism*. Routledge, 2004, 3.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid, Cronin, CRS-9.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid, Ganor, 9.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid, Cronin, CRS-9.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, Ganor, 9.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, 10.

this action is often in the form of financial incentives, sometimes reaching hundreds of millions of dollars, which enable future suicide attacks for a specific cause relative to the organization.<sup>226</sup> Additionally, drawing on cost analysis, suicide terrorism is a viable option for organizations due to its technological simplicity of preparing or purchasing explosives. The variety of platforms used to transport explosives enables the use of technologically primitive mechanisms.<sup>227</sup> On average, experts believe the economic costs of suicide material are about \$150.<sup>228</sup> Relatively speaking, measurably, the money invested in resources, the financial return of investment from outside donors, the coercive implications of concessions, and the ideological support of an organization's cause, makes suicide terrorism a worthy financial motivation.

One aspect often agreed upon among most literature involved in the study of suicide terrorism is confidence in the efficiency and precision of suicide attacks by way of the organization. This confidence is a direct result of the operational advantages that suicide terrorism has. First, the limiting ability to stop a suicide bomber once he/she is locked in to a suicide mechanism is substantial. The bomb is essentially guaranteed to detonate upon target objective, capture, or by override mechanisms should a bomber attempt to retreat prior to mission objective.<sup>229</sup> Second, the precision of suicide bombers, through their ability to relocate within feet of their target mitigates the opposition or "Western advantage of standoff targeting based on physical distance."<sup>230</sup> Third, often the most complicated aspect of a terrorist attack is the escape options for the perpetrator,

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid, Cronin, CRS-10.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid, Ganor, 8.

<sup>228</sup> Hoffman, Bruce. *The logic of suicide terrorism*. Rand, 2003.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, Ganor, 9.

<sup>230</sup> Bunker, Robert J., and John P. Sullivan. "Suicide Bombings in Operation Iraqi Freedom." (2004), 6.

however suicide attacks require no plan of egress.<sup>231</sup> This ultimately benefits the last advantage of operational reasoning for suicide terrorism which is liability. The death of the suicide attacker eliminates the liability of intelligence gathering from oppositional forces.<sup>232</sup> Ultimately, the operational security of the terrorist organization is secured through this modus operandi.<sup>233</sup> This is only relevant in all cases by which the attacker fully executed his/her mission which ultimately resulted in their death.

## **Case Study**

### *The Essence of Variation as an Analysis for Motivation*

The qualitative literature put forth thus far, validates the notion that suicide terrorism is a historic phenomenon involving different eras, players, motivations, and contexts, yet an event that has seen a growing appreciation for its uses. This study will evaluate the use of suicide terrorism through distinct groups, all representing a varied motivation, but apt for qualitative analysis to endure in the exploration of how motivations influence the group's decision to utilize suicide terrorism as their method of warfare. The three groups that will be explored are the Tamil Tigers, al Qaeda and Hezbollah. The Tamil Tigers enable this study to establish a baseline for analyzing terrorist organizations' employment of suicide terrorism as its methodology for achieving their cause. This organization is motivated by political and nationalistic appeals, thus distinguishing it from the general scope of analysis on suicide terrorism as a characteristic of Islamic fundamentalism. On the contrary, al Qaeda is a great example of this very belief, that suicide terrorism is appealing to those more closely associated to

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<sup>231</sup> Hoffman, Bruce. *The logic of suicide terrorism*. Rand, 2003.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid, Ganor, 9.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid, Bunker, 6.

extremism and Islamic fundamentalism. Hezbollah remains a center of focus in the use of suicide terrorism. Their employment has acted as both an influence and a strategic motivation for utilizing suicide attacks in their methodologies. Leadership among all three groups will demonstrate a solid explanation of ideological justification. Moreover, the operational advantages presented within each organization will be an effective variable in evaluating the motivations that elicit the decision to employ suicide terrorism as a utility of achieving respective goals.

### *Tamil Tigers*

The employment of suicide terrorism from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), more commonly known as the Tamil Tigers, is the central utility of political action adopted by its leader Velupillai Prabhakaran and continued by its leadership today. This methodology of action is a blend of psychological manipulation that glorifies death and violence, at the cost of achieving a greater good for the organization, but beyond solely the individual consideration.<sup>234</sup> The Tamil Tigers are a direct representative of the group dynamic explored throughout the literature presented, by which group pressure is essential to the motivation to carry out suicide attacks. The goals of the Tamil Tigers are blatant, they wish to seize control of Sri Lanka from the Sinhalese majority and create an independent Tamil state in the North East region of the country.<sup>235</sup> Thus, their employment of suicide terrorism is increasingly subjected to scrutiny regarding their practicality of employing such a tactic to achieve their goals. Nevertheless, from the

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<sup>234</sup> Jayatunge, Ruwan. "Suicide Bombers of the LTTE and Posttraumatic Phenomenon". LankaWeb. July 31, 2010.

<sup>235</sup> Anti-Defamation League. "Terrorism: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam". International Terrorist Symbols Database. 2013.

1980's to early 2000's, the LTTE monopolized this tactic resulting in thousands of deaths over the course of a few decades. In fact, by 2002 they had carried out 220 suicide bombings that resulted in the deaths of more than 1,500 people.

Suicide terrorism expert, Robert Pape, sheds light on the practicality of achieving political objectives through the employment of suicide attacks, by demonstrating an overlap of the Tamil Tigers and Hezbollah. This overlap is explicit in the first suicide attacks carried out by the Tamil Tigers. Reflecting many similar characteristics of Hezbollah's attack on the Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983, an attacker by the name of Captain Miller drove a truck latent with explosives into a Sinhalese barracks. Much to the same fashion as that carried out by Hezbollah in 1983. Although this attack did not translate into a political success, it did create a sense of martyrdom on Captain Miller's behalf.<sup>236</sup> This sense of martyrdom differs from that of Islamic organizations in that it does not connote the same religious implications of self-sacrifice. The Tamil Tigers are purely a secular group, motivated by Nationalist ideologies. They translate the concept of martyrdom around a secular idea of individuals that altruistically sacrifice for the greater good of the community.<sup>237</sup> Nevertheless, the issue of practical application is central to the effects of suicide attacks carried out by the Tamil Tigers. Their central goal of creating a Tamil state and essentially seizing control of the country appears both unattainable and impractical utilizing a frequency of suicide attacks. Despite these concerns, suicide terrorism has woefully elicited a notion of fear and political willingness on behalf of the Tamil Tigers. Their attacks have successfully assassinated a myriad of political leadership including Sri Lanka Defense Minister Ranjan Wijeratne, former Indian Prime

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<sup>236</sup> Neary, Lynn, Host. Pape, Robert, Speaker. Tamil Tigers: Suicide Bombing Innovators. National Public Radio. May 21, 2009.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid

Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa, and Presidential candidate Gamini Dissanayake. These assassinations in of itself strengthened the LTTE's confidence in suicide bombings as a utility of strategic warfare. Small measures such as these are viewed as political successes toward achieving their ultimate goal, essentially compelling the organization to continue the employment of suicide terrorism. Political executions and the elicitation of public fears were central to the LTTE's measurable variables to assess the operational effectiveness of suicide attacks.<sup>238</sup>

The LTTE views suicide terrorism as an effective military tactic aimed at offensive principles to counter a militarily stronger opposition. "The main goal of the suicide mission was to frustrate the military and the political leadership of the enemy with the minimum loss of life to the perpetrators (the loss of one suicide [attacker] is much less than losses sustained launching a military offensive)."<sup>239</sup> This calculated assessment is evident in the statistics provided previously. The quantitative difference between casualties of the attack and the attacker themselves are a substantial difference that creates a worthy consideration when employing this modus operandi. The Tamil Tigers are a nationalist movement against an opposition which necessitates support and recruitment to further their cause. As such, suicide attacks act as measures of soliciting financial and physical support for their cause. In addition to charity related fronts that utilize a veil of legitimacy to collect financing for their operation as the U.S. State Department has claimed, the LTTE also is heavily supported by communities of Tamil expatriates in North American, Europe and Asia who procure weapons for and launder

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid, Neary, 2009.

<sup>239</sup> Facts and Details. "Tamil Tigers: Suicide Bombing Pioneers and The Tamil Struggle in Sri Lanka". Site accessed April 14, 2014. <http://factsanddetails.com/world/cat58/sub385/item2371.html>.

money to the organization.<sup>240</sup> This global reach is indicative of the practical application of brutality conveyed by the attacks, as well as the severity of their political objectives.

Suicide terrorists are not commoners, whose loyalty defines their right to execute attacks. Selected members are taken into consideration based on criteria such as psychological profile, suicidal ideation, group identity, and social influence.<sup>241</sup> The perpetrators then undergo “institutionalized indoctrination and systematic injection of odium with adoration of death as well as scrupulous physical training.”<sup>242</sup> This systematic indoctrination was strategically chosen by the Tamil Tigers leadership and one that proved successful throughout the years. Inevitably, all the terrorists involved in this process become ideologically justified in their actions. Blind obedience is not only a causal effect of the manipulative nature of Prabhakaran, but it was a strategic means at cultivating a culture of suicide terrorism as its methodology. The psychological motivation to kill and be killed on the individual level thus only becomes exasperated by the existential motivations of the group. The nationalist and political cause is central to the ideological motivation of suicide terrorism.

Perception is critical in the evaluation of the suicide attacker. Perception serves to justify the actions and consequences of a suicide attack. Suicide terrorists ultimately see the world subjectively, meaning their justification is often misconstrued by extremism and introversion. Ultimately, their ideological justification is based from a misinterpreted and manipulated faith.<sup>243</sup> The Tamil Tigers are demonstrative of this manipulated justification. The subtle power of Prabhakaran’s manipulation created a profile of

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<sup>240</sup> Anti-Defamation League. “Terrorism: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam”. International Terrorist Symbols Database. 2013.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid, Jayatunge, 2010.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid, Jayatunge, 2.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

himself, analogous to that of a liberator. His strict desire for Tamil sovereignty enabled the support of the masses. However, his decision to employ suicide attackers legitimized his efforts. Employing a methodology that necessitated human sacrifice for a greater cause beyond that individual's life was not only seen as a response toward justification, but also an admiration for the veneration of death.<sup>244</sup>

Despite the ideological considerations behind the employment of suicide terrorism by the Tamil Tigers, quantitative analysis supports the strategic choice behind suicide attacks. From 1983 to 2000 alone, the Tamil Tigers accounted for 171 attacks out of a possible 308 attacks worldwide. The utilization of this method was perfected by the Tamil Tigers and inevitably inspired its inscription into many other terrorist organizations decision to employ suicide terrorism. The logistical inability for counter operations to prevent and cease a suicide attack is valuable to the success of this methodology. Inevitably, the success of a suicide attack is only dependent upon the attacker arming themselves with a mechanism for causing damage. From that point forward the attack remains imminent, with the specific target being the last goal for mission objective. Mishaps along the way are possible, however the likelihood of casualties regardless of the inclusion of a particular target still remains possible. The assassination of high level targets has solidified the strategic means for employing suicide terrorism as a significant pay off. The Tamil Tigers have been successful in assassinating former Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and the President of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa. The operational advantages thus outweigh other methodologies of terrorism, validating the motivation for its employment by the Tamil Tigers.

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid, Jayatunge, 3.



### *Jihad as a Foundation for Suicide Attacks*

This study validates the prevalence of the employment of suicide terrorism by non-secular groups like al Qaeda and Hezbollah, but understanding Jihad as a foundation for suicide attacks is paramount to the scope of this evaluation. Certainly, in cases such as the Tamil Tigers, religion is separated from the concept of suicide attacks, but political and religious context within Middle Eastern organizations necessitate a thorough understanding of the relationship of suicide terrorism and religion. Undoubtedly, it is apt to suggest that literature focused on “history of exploitation by Western powers, Israel’s existence, government oppression, poverty, lack of education, and alienation” are valid in their attempt to explain motivations behind suicide terrorism.<sup>245</sup> Nevertheless, it is academic negligence to disregard the relationship of religion and suicide terrorism in consideration of non-secular organizations like Hezbollah and al Qaeda. This study offers a unique opportunity to evaluate the individual and group aspect in correlation with motivations behind suicide terrorism. More specifically, individual justification as a platform for the group objective is significant to understanding the motivations that influence an organization’s decision to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi.

Despite existing scholarship and the various degrees of interpreting the term Jihad, there is no contention that Jihad is synonymous with war.<sup>246</sup> The ideological interpretation has been contested throughout a course of history, but its modern presence came about as a result of interpretations from Muslim Brotherhood theorists Sayyid Qutb and Hasan al-Banna. Despite the exegesis developing out of Sunni jurisprudence, the

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<sup>245</sup> Bukay, David. "The Religious Foundations of Suicide Bombings." *Middle East Quarterly* (2006).

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

Islamic Republic of Iran and their proxy groups like Hezbollah, adopted the interpretation and employed Jihad as their justification for suicide terrorism.<sup>247</sup>

Although as literature connotes, Jihad is regarded in terms of the inner struggle, many theologians refer to this interpretation in a military sense.<sup>248</sup> Understanding Jihad is thus integral to understanding the justification behind employing suicide terrorism.

Islamic jurisprudence is distinguished in four ways by which an individual can fulfill their Jihad obligations: faith in their heart, preaching the word, by carrying out good deeds with their hand and by confronting unbelievers with the sword.<sup>249</sup> The explicit synthesis of non-violent and violent means enables a military influence to Jihad and thus, constitutes a legitimate justification for employing violent actions to achieve religious obligations. Jihad's objective is not so complex, as it seeks "to establish God's rule on earth by compelling non-Muslims to embrace Islam, or to force them to accept second class status if not eradicate them altogether."<sup>250</sup> Martyrdom thus, enables Muslims to fulfill their religious obligations based on these interpretations of Jihad. The martyr acts as the platform for Jihad, killed by their own hand, but at the mercy of a greater obligation, the ideological duties presented by Jihad. Such sacrifice entitles special status in paradise upon Judgment Day.<sup>251</sup> Suicide terrorism, in the context of organizations like al Qaeda and Hezbollah, consequently is justified under these tenants of Islam. The variability of the political and religious goals among al Qaeda and Hezbollah will remain diverse, but the general application of Jihad will constitute a legitimate basis for

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid, Bukay, 2006.

<sup>248</sup> Lewis, Bernard. *The political language of Islam*. University of Chicago Press, 1991.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid, 72.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid, Bukay, 2006.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

understanding how motivations influence the decision for terrorist organizations to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi.

### *Al-Qaeda*

General perception of al Qaeda finds that Islamic fundamentalism is at the heart of their influences to any attack or action the organization takes. Many scholars suggest that members of al Qaeda are considered religious fanatics who employ suicide terrorism because they are illogical, but the leadership of the organization plays a much greater role in the motivation for employing suicide attacks. This counteracts the claim of irrational actors by justifying the rationality of the decision to carry out suicide attacks. Islamic fundamentalism is critical in the evaluation of motivations, however the context of political and religious justification for such attacks is essential in this case. Evaluations of suicide terrorism must consider the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim attackers, like the Tamil Tigers, for purposes of distinguishing religious components of suicide terrorism.<sup>252</sup> All Muslim attackers justify their actions based on an ideological influence and the concept of Jihad.<sup>253</sup>

The indoctrination of a suicide terrorist is similar to that of one employed by the Tamil Tigers. Most attackers are motivated on a personal level by the adoration of revenge or resentment toward an enemy. The group acts to channel that motivation and utilize it in a suicide attack that fulfills the group cause and the individual desire. Nevertheless, in order to understand the motivations of al Qaeda this study must explore the ideological justifications that compel the use of suicide terrorism as discussed in the previous section regarding Jihad. Robert Pape addresses suicide terrorism as a logical

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid, Bukay, 2006..

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

methodology with considerable success at achieving a realistic goal that other methods have failed, such as the liberation of occupied territory being one.<sup>254</sup> Suicide terrorism is a strategic consideration with a psychological means of justifying its employment. This psychological consideration will be discussed in chapter three. The symbiotic relationship in the terrorist decision making process is exemplified through the use of suicide terrorism as an organization's modus operandi.

The Sunni influence is instrumental in the evaluation of suicide terrorism as a methodology of al Qaeda. This comes as a result of the religious justification interpreted through suicide terrorism as an honorable response to Jihad. Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, "is credited with being the first Sunni Islamic figure to instill the Islamic community with a divine myth of invincibility of Jihad and terrorism."<sup>255</sup> This individual was influenced by several Islamic scholars before his time that laid out the groundwork for Islamic fundamentalism, ultimately becoming a major ideological influence on Osama Bin Laden. Al Qaeda's leadership ultimately justified suicide terrorism as its methodology through their interpretation of Jihad.

Evaluating the motivations that influence the decision to employ suicide terrorism thus necessitates a scope into the idea of operational effectiveness. Assessing al Qaeda's goals in retrospect of the success of suicide attacks will divulge an understanding of why suicide terrorism is a utility worth employing. Although al Qaeda's goals are broad, they are strategically stated as such as a means to translate their strategies as a success in regards to achieving their stated goals.

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<sup>254</sup> Pape, Robert. *Dying to win: The strategic logic of suicide terrorism*. Random House LLC, 2005.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, Bukay, 2006.

Al Qaeda undoubtedly seeks to spread Islam throughout the world and they are capable of doing so from their name and brand alone. The mention of this organization conjures images of terror, network, efficiency and brutality.<sup>256</sup> Spreading Islam includes the recruitment and support objectives of al Qaeda also. The concept of al Qaeda alone, with Islam as its foundation of beliefs, enabled the organization to prosper not only in the Middle East, but throughout the world. According to the Foreign Policy Journal by a study sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, statistics ardently demonstrate that Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world.<sup>257</sup> From 1990 to 2010, the global Muslim population increased by an annual average of 2.2%.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, from 2010 to 2020, the growth of Islam is expected to increase by 1.70%.<sup>259</sup> Lastly, by 2030 Muslims are expected to represent 26.4% of the global population.<sup>260</sup> The logical assertion from a reasonable individual will thus argue that the spread of this religion is one of peaceful means, as opposed to extremist Islam like that represented by al Qaeda. While this notion perhaps holds true, it would be erroneous to assume that al Qaeda leadership would not manipulate such statistics to represent their role in the spread of Islam. Extremist or not, the ability to manipulate data of these measures is idiosyncratic of al Qaeda leadership. Thus, assessing these statistics is necessary to this study. Statistics have shown that Islam is spreading more rapidly than any other religion and the al Qaeda worldview has grown in a similar fashion. This radical internationalist ideology, sustained by anti-Western rhetoric has contributed to al Qaeda's objectives of not only

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<sup>256</sup> Burke, Jason. "Al Qaeda." *Foreign Policy* (2004): 18.

<sup>257</sup> Staff, "The List: The World's Fastest Growing Religions" *Foreign Policy*. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace). May 2007.

<sup>258</sup> Pew Research, Religion and Public Life Project. "The Future of Global Muslim Population: Projections from 2010 to 2013". Site accessed April 7, 2013. <http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population/>.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

spreading Islam, but also contributing to their support and recruitment goals.<sup>261</sup> Although its adherents may not be directly linked to the organization, “they merely, follow his precepts, models, and methods. They act in the style of al Qaeda, but they are only part of al Qaeda in the loosest sense.”<sup>262</sup>

Al Qaeda understands their subservient role against a more powerful, formidable, and technologically sound opposition. Thus, their decision to employ suicide terrorist is a strategy intended to delineate the inequality of fighting prowess. Moreover, this decision alludes to al Qaeda’s principal objective of carrying out damaging strikes against the United States in retaliation for its perceived aggression in the Islamic world.<sup>263</sup> As mentioned previously, suicide terrorism is beneficial for a quantity of reasons. It is unpredictable and capable of achieving its target at point blank range due to the individual acting as the platform of execution. It is theatrical, benefitting the emission of terror aspect of the attack in regards to media. Lastly, it connotes the severity of political implications behind the attacks because it requires the end of one’s life for success of the suicide attack. These reasons compel the rational decision to employ suicide terrorism from al Qaeda’s leadership. Suicide attacks including those on September 11, 2001 have been al Qaeda’s claim to fame. They strategically execute such operations in a fashion that can both truly recruit the extremist supporters of Islam, and manipulate the increase in Islamic supporters around the world as a success due to their operations. Nevertheless, what cannot be attested is the fact that al Qaeda has grown tremendously in terms of regional affiliates.

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid, Burke, 18.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Blanchard, Christopher M. *Al Qaeda: statements and evolving ideology*. DIANE Publishing, 2010.

“According to U. S. officials, al Qaeda cells and associates are located in over 70 countries.”<sup>264</sup> A report conducted by the Institute of National Security Studies (INSS) has shown a significant increase in suicide attacks since 2000, with 2013 showing an even larger increase over the other years.<sup>265</sup> Since 2000, an estimated 3,500 suicide attacks have taken place, however September 11, 2001 revealed the point at which al Qaeda was responsible for the majority of terrorist attacks taken place around the world.<sup>266</sup> As of 2013, more than 95 percent of suicide attacks were carried out by al Qaeda, its affiliates, and sympathizers who are more loosely associated with the organization, but inspired by their goals.<sup>267</sup> This method provides incentives for terrorist organizations to employ this utility as a result of being motivated by the number of lives these attacks claim and the effects on public morale. The INSS study conclusively found that in 2013, terrorist organizations carried out 291 suicide attacks in 18 different countries, resulting in the death of 3,100 people.<sup>268</sup> This statistic alone is demonstrative of a 25% increase in suicide attacks over two years alone.<sup>269</sup> These statistics provide valuable insight into the correlation of suicide attacks with the success of al Qaeda. They have increased their Islamic followers through such a methodology, while also spreading their brand.

As of April 25, 2014 the leader of al Qaeda, Ayman al Zawahiri, insisted that al Qaeda is holding strong and has expanded since the War on Terror following the attacks

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<sup>264</sup> Rollins, John. "Al Qaeda and Affiliates: Historical Perspective, Global Presence, and Implications for US Policy." *International Journal of Terrorism & Political Hot Spots* 6, no. 3 (2011).

<sup>265</sup> Yotam Rosner, Einav Yogev, Yoram Schweitzer. "A Report on Suicide Bombings 2013". INSS Insight No. 507. The Institute for National Security Studies. January 14, 2014.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

of 9/11.<sup>270</sup> This conclusively supports their objectives of spreading Islam and continuing to fight the Western influence including the United States. Al Zawahiri claims, “the upper hand is for the one who does not withdraw from his land. Who has withdrawn from Iraq, and who has not? Who has withdrawn from Afghanistan and who has not?”<sup>271</sup> He makes these references in a video sought for recruitment purposes and in reference to the United States military withdraw from each country. Supported empirically by the statistics claimed previously and in conjunction with claims such as these, suicide terrorism has undeniably translated into success in the perspective of al Qaeda leadership. The relationship between such variables offers the opportunity to understand the motivations that influence the decision to employ suicide terrorism.

### *Hezbollah*

Hezbollah’s employment of suicide bombing is a militarily effective, theologically justified means to achieve political ends.<sup>272</sup> Central to the ideological justification of Hezbollah’s employment of suicide terrorism is the understanding that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini thoroughly entertained the words of Islamist thinkers before him. Abu al-A’la al-Mawdudi, Hasan al-Banna, and Sayyid Qutb thoroughly addressed the centrality of Jihad, consequently enabling external interpretation to justify the use of suicide terrorism as an obligation to Jihad.<sup>273</sup> Martyrdom is revered as the highest form of honor for a Muslim and thus, death in battle is supported by actions of suicide attacks. Ayatollah Khomeini is recorded as claiming that “the purest joy in Islam

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<sup>270</sup> Alkhshali, Hamdi and Botelho, Greg. “Al-Zawahiri: Followers should capture Westerners...as much as they can”. CNN. Apr. 28, 2014. Site accessed Apr. 28, 2014. <http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/25/world/al-zawahiri-message/index.html>.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid, Alkhshali and Botelho, April 2014.

<sup>272</sup> Helmer, Daniel. "Hezbollah's Employment of Suicide Bombing During the 1980s: The Theological, Political, and Operational Development of a New Tactic..." PhD diss., 2003.

<sup>273</sup> Bukay, David. "The Religious Foundations of Suicide Bombings." *Middle East Quarterly* (2006).



is to kill and be killed for Allah.”<sup>274</sup> This is bearing in mind that Hezbollah’s attacks are all supported by the notion of Jihad. The assumption of suicide attacks as an illogical response by religious fanatics is disingenuous to the understanding of an extreme interpretation of Jihad as Hezbollah has taken on.

As an evaluation of due diligence in regards to the notion of Jihad, it must be known that Muslim opposition beliefs are apologetic to the use of suicide terrorism, claiming them haram or sinful as interpreted in the Hadith that opposes killing oneself. A Lebanese Shia cleric supports this claim in a fatwa that which purports suicide as haram according to Islamic law.<sup>275</sup> Despite these Muslim oppositions, the ideological motivation is supported by the meaning of martyrdom. Ultimately, suicide terrorism is not suicide because it is carried out under the guise of Jihad. Muslim interpretation of the Holy War ultimately compels suicide terrorism to be casted in the light of the ultimate honor. This concept was more thoroughly explored previously and is imperative in the discussion of Hezbollah as an employer of suicide terrorism. Nevertheless, despite justifying Hezbollah’s decision to employ suicide terrorism, it is necessary to discuss their goals in order to understand the operational effectiveness of suicide attacks. This will enable an effective metric to more thoroughly assess the correlation of suicide attacks with success in achieving their political objectives.

Some of Hezbollah’s major goals are as follows: to fight against and end Israel and to counteract their conjectural sense of invincibility, to become the voice of Lebanon, and to establish an Islamic government in Lebanon.<sup>276</sup> Subsequently, the effects of suicide attacks are worthy of achieving Hezbollah’s major goals, within justification by

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<sup>274</sup> Ibid, Bukay, 2006.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Byers, Ann. *Lebanon's Hezbollah*. The Rosen Publishing Group, 2003, 7.

religious doctrine. Suicide attacks are a strategic tactic used against a militarily superior opposition, a tactic used to even the playing field if you will. Suicide attacks are unpredictable, accurate, cost effective, brutally theatrical and worthy of eliciting true terror within the opposition. Lastly, suicide terrorism is a tactic that compels society to legitimize the seriousness of the political objectives of an organization that is willing to employ suicide attacks within their modus operandi. “With a thoughtful understanding of the capabilities of this weapon and the political goals it might help to attain, Hezbollah carefully timed suicide bombing operations to make their enemies pay significant military and political costs.”<sup>277</sup> From the 1980’s, when suicide bombing first emerged a public spectacle, until 2000, most of approximately 200 such bombings were carried out by Hezbollah.<sup>278</sup> Hezbollah leadership, beginning with its founder Abbas Mussawi, to today emphasized the political goals of the organization, though hidden within the language of Islam, to remove the current power in Lebanon and expel foreign powers from the country. Thus, employing suicide bombing was a practical decision employed as a means of raising arms, while aimed at a political objective. “Hezbollah demonstrated military pragmatism by using what worked and discarding what did not.”<sup>279</sup> Recognition of inadequacies of military might against a more formidable opposition, nurtured the notion of asymmetrical warfare, namely the suicide bomber. As Daniel Helmer points out in his dissertation, a United Nations spokesman is quoted as identifying Hezbollah as one of the few organizations to utilize a review process within their decision to employ

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<sup>277</sup> Helmer, Daniel. "Hezbollah's Employment of Suicide Bombing During the 1980s: The Theological, Political, and Operational Development of a New Tactic..." PhD diss., 2003.

<sup>278</sup> Yotam Rosner, Einav Yogev, Yoram Schweitzer. “A Report on Suicide Bombings 2013”. INSS Insight No. 507. The Institute for National Security Studies. January 14, 2014.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, Helmer, 2003.

military tactics aimed at achieving their political objectives, going on to state “these guys learn from their mistakes.”<sup>280</sup>

Hezbollah’s decision to employ suicide terrorism was one drawn from a practical standpoint. They utilized other forms of military tactics including, conventional warfare, rifle vs. rifle, ambushes, and grenade attacks to name a few, however the military value found in suicide attacks compelled the organization to make a practical decision to employ this tactic based on the value and practicality of its implications.<sup>281</sup> The accuracy, precision, maximizing effects and absence of an alias, were all calculated variables that Hezbollah reviewed and determined to provide the most value in regards to military tactics. A suicide attack can move as close to a target as possible, casualties can be maximized, and association with an organization can be avoided as a result of the attacker’s death.<sup>282</sup>

The military advantages that suicide attacks carry enable a more formidable opportunity for Hezbollah to achieve its political goals mentioned previously, versus a more conventional approach to warfare. Various events have supported these claims. An April 1983 initiative by the United States and Israel to broker a Lebanese-Israeli peace treaty was antithetical to Hezbollah’s ideology.<sup>283</sup> Thus, on April 18, 1983 Hezbollah carried out an attack on the U.S. embassy in Lebanon killing 63, including 17 Americans. The treaty that was originally thought to be signed quickly, was delayed by negotiation complications and Lebanese parliament delays.<sup>284</sup> In a response to continued foreign

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<sup>280</sup> Shadid, Anthony. *Legacy of the Prophet: Despots, Democrats, and the New Politics of Islam* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001), 136.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid, Helmer, 2003.

<sup>282</sup> Benjamin, Daniel and Simon, Steven. *The Age of Sacred Terror* (New York: Random House, 2002), 29.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid, Helmer, 2003.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

military presence by the Multinational Force (MNF) in Lebanon, Hezbollah carried out double suicide bombings on October 23, 1983 against the American Marine barracks and French compound, killing 299 American and French forces. Continued threats aimed at compelling the Multinational Force to leave Lebanon was a calculated decision intended to undermine public support in the United States and other nations associated with the MNF.<sup>285</sup> The Multination Force withdrew from Lebanon in March of 1984, shortly after the attack on the barracks, prompting Hezbollah's view as a successful calculation in carrying out their suicide attacks. On November 4, 1983 Hezbollah attacked the Israeli security services base in Tyre. The blatant attack that followed the public warning of an imminent attack, unsettled Israeli civilians who began to question the Israeli Defense Force's ability to protect them.<sup>286</sup> Recommendations by the Tyre Commission following the attacks suggested Israeli forces move out of populated cities in the hopes that Hezbollah would move freely among the populace and limit collateral damage to civilian bystanders when attacks were carried out against Israeli forces.<sup>287</sup> The decision to withdraw forces was a success by Hezbollah's standards in its own right because it reduced the Israeli forces' influence over the civilian populace.<sup>288</sup> By 1985 Hezbollah viewed their employment of suicide attacks a success, due large in part to the subsequent withdrawal of the Multinational Force in Lebanon and the Israeli Defense Force's withdrawal from Beirut.

Despite these attacks Hezbollah uses suicide attacks in a calculated fashion.

Consensus within the organization's leadership believed that "suicide operations should

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid, Helmer, 2003.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Tyre Commission Recommendations. ta171534, Bahamane (Tel Aviv), November 16, 1983, 5, 8, FBIS, Novemeber 18, 1983, i4-i5.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid, Helmer, 2003.

only be carried out if they can bring about a political or military change proportional to the passions that incite a person to make of his body an explosive bomb.”<sup>289</sup> They believed that if the attacks stopped causing casualties and yielding political and military benefits, then it would be unlikely that a willing corps of prospective suicide bombers would exist.<sup>290</sup> Hezbollah substantiated the correlation between suicide attacks and their frequency by conveying and publically claiming success in achieving the political objectives of the group. This enables an invaluable scope of measuring operational effectiveness to determine how motivations influence the decision to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi.

## **Conclusion**

Exploring the issue of what motivates an organization to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi, necessitates an in depth discussion of several variables that contribute to the study. Although current discussions often focus on whether it is logical or illogical to utilize suicide terrorism, it is often trivial. Reasonableness will undoubtedly be discussed for years to come, but understanding motivations provide a more tangible variable to the study. Literature is often dominated by the evaluation of two categories that suicide attackers belong to: the individual and the group. Despite the separation of the two categories, they are very much related as a result of the group influence. While individuals characteristically embody many qualities of a suicide victim in general, they are often influenced by the group dynamic and consequently, act as the platform for carrying out a suicide attack. As was demonstrated throughout this paper, despite a

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<sup>289</sup> "Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah interviewed," NC230849, Beirut Monday Morning, in English, 16-22 December 1985, 22-25, FBIS, 24 December 1985, G3-G5.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

general belief among society and scholars alike, suicide terrorism is not rooted purely from fanaticism. Although it is an influence, the decision to employ this method is often times a calculated move and intended as a strategic tactic often against a militarily stronger opposition. Nevertheless, within Islamic extremist organizations such as Hezbollah and al Qaeda, religion acts as the outlier of justification to carry out such an attack. The religious obligation to Jihad by a suicide attacker is often supported and applied as a means of justifying an attack, thus creating an honor of martyrdom. Although, religion acts as a means of justification, the strategic application of suicide terrorism within an organizations' modus operandi involves significant calculations based on operational effectiveness. The motivations are dependent upon the context, meaning ideological justification, operational advantage and political motivations behind the attacks. Thus, the complete eradication of suicide terrorism is unlikely. It has been historically proven to pay off for both the individual and group motivation and as this study demonstrated, there is logic and strategic value through its employment.

Evaluating organizations that employ suicide attacks, enables an opportunity to measure political objectives against the frequency and effectiveness of such attacks, in an effort to determine how motivations influence the decision to utilize suicide terrorism. That being said, the case studies of the Tamil Tigers, Hezbollah and al Qaeda, all organizations that employ suicide terrorism, convey a historical account which highlights the security and political environment as a significant variable in evaluating suicide attacks. The latter meaning, issues of the political state of affairs within each organization, often determine the likelihood and frequency of suicide attacks. It remains a logical consideration that future terrorist organizations' examination of cost-benefit

analysis will in fact strengthen the desire to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi against a more globalized and formidable opposition. Furthermore, their vast external support network will enable them to continue this tactic, as was alluded to in chapter one. Both historically and today, global patterns around the world often support this notion. As of 2002 there were 50 suicide attacks around the world. In 2008, more than 500 suicide attacks were carried out around the world.<sup>291</sup> Regional and political evaluations on these figures have a common denominator of foreign occupation throughout the Middle East as a variable worth considering. Issues such as these provide an opportunity to evaluate how motivations influence the decision for terrorist organization to employ suicide terrorism as their modus operandi just as this study has shown.

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<sup>291</sup> Neary, Lynn, Host. Pape, Robert, Speaker. Tamil Tigers: Suicide Bombing Innovators. National Public Radio. May 21, 2009.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Terrorist Groups Utilize Military Interventions to Spread their Cause**

Throughout the Middle East and Africa, military intervention by Western states seeks to prevent the spread of terrorism. However, terrorist organizations like al Qaeda and its affiliate, al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) use these interventions to further their cause by manipulating essential regional factors like religious belief, social and cultural traditions. Al Qaeda and AQIM use these tactics to gain popular support or sympathy for their cause by activating nationalist reactions. Understanding how terrorist organizations use military interventions to spread terrorism involves fundamental considerations. That being, the way in which terrorist organizations conduct themselves and the efforts they take to promote the spread of their ideology and methods. This chapter will seek to argue that to be successful, military interventions must be sensitive to regional conditions meaning religious beliefs, and social and cultural traditions of the population. The first instance by which that sensitivity is breached is the moment by which terrorist organizations capitalize and exploit the intention of the military intervention as self-indulged. The spread of terrorism is often the result of narrative and ideological manipulation by terrorist organizations. Moreover, their unique ability to demonize military intervention as the enemy of a native population is paramount to an organizations support and recruitment capabilities. Utilizing the relevant theories espoused throughout the literature review, this chapter will hypothesize that terrorist organizations utilize military intervention to spread terrorism by manipulating the spiritual identity of the host nation as relatable only to the organization, as well as by



identifying and exaggerating the disconnect between social and cultural traditions of the intervening force and host nation.

This chapter will demonstrate that terrorist organizations' ability to manipulate the intentions of military interventions can strategically intensify their agenda. Interventions are used by terrorist groups to perpetuate a narrative, a phenomenon that Western states have historically struggled to combat, while simultaneously contesting terrorist groups. This chapter will examine whether the way in which military interventions treat regional factors such as cultural, social, and religious traditions benefits the intervened population and thus, contains the spread of terrorism throughout the region or not. This consideration is necessary in examining the influence terrorist organizations have on these factors and the extent by which they will exploit these regional elements to further their cause and increasingly spread terror. Consideration of message content, recruitment and the manipulation of narrative will all be vital in understanding how terrorist organizations influence the affects of military intervention on the spread of terrorism.

The argument will proceed as follows. I will first define what is meant by military intervention and the spread of terrorism. To analyze how terrorist organizations use interventions to further their cause, the paper will examine scholarly literature on the role of the following regional conditions: religious belief, social and cultural traditions and the perception of a common threat from the intervened population. This literature review is essential in conceptualizing the essence of these regional conditions because they are historically a determinant of success for military intervention. The methodology in the subsequent section will examine how terrorist organizations like al Qaeda and AQIM

exploit those factors, focusing on their ability to manipulate narrative and garner support from the population, in an effort to discredit an intervening force. Doing so, is a method to facilitate recruitment and support, thus spreading terrorism. This chapter will conclude by evaluating a case study of American military intervention in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2012. It will focus on the extent at which American forces acknowledged and considered the aforementioned regional factors and the way by which terrorist organizations have exploited that sensitivity to further their cause. Additionally, a case study on the Franco-African military intervention in Mali in the early months of 2013 will examine the conduct of the military intervention and the failures of AQIM to exploit their intentions. The results of these case studies will provide an analysis of the role of the essential regional factors and the implications on the spread of terrorism and the level of success of military interventions.

### **Defining the Concepts**

To better understand the scope of this chapter it is paramount to define clearly what is meant by military intervention and the spread of terrorism. These two concepts are fundamental to understanding the process by which intervening forces and terrorist organizations can dissuade or exacerbate regional terror. Moreover, any reference to AQIM is meant to be restricted to its role in the geographic regions of North Africa and the Horn of Africa all inclusive of Mali, Libya, Algeria, Nigeria and Somalia.

For purposes of this study, referring to Pearson and Baumann's International Military Intervention (IMI) dataset is most appropriate to comprehending the argument at stake. These researchers contend that military intervention refers to the physical movement of forces of one nation state into another country. This movement is

understood to be acted on by the intervening force either by acceptance from the intervened state, or by force from the intervening troops.<sup>292</sup> These intentions are meant for security implications “to prevent the occupied country from becoming a threat to the occupying power or other states and to ensure that the occupied territory does not become a destabilizing influence in the region”.<sup>293</sup> Furthermore, the definitions offered by Pickering and Kisangani, constrain this definition by stating “paramilitaries, government backed militias, private security forces, and other military units that are not part of the uniformed military of the state are excluded.”<sup>294</sup> This study will exclude eight of the nine motivating factors that initiate military intervention stated in the IMI and refer only to “rebel pursuit issues” which refer to incidences involving the “pursuit of rebel or terrorist forces across borders”.<sup>295</sup> This chapter will focus on this one motivating factor to distinguish between humanitarian intervention and military intervention. Terrorist organizations perceive the nature of the intervention by military forces as an infringement on their religious, social and cultural beliefs as Muslims. Constraining the definition of military intervention to this scope will allow this study to focus on how al Qaeda and its affiliates use military interventions to further their cause and spread terrorism.

What is meant by the spread of terrorism? For the purposes of this argument we will refer to the meaning offered by Seung Choi who cites LaFree and Dugan’s explanation defining terrorism as “an intentional act of violence or threat of violence by a

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<sup>292</sup> Pickering, Jeffrey, and Emizet F. Kisangani. "The International Military Intervention dataset: An updated resource for conflict scholars." *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 4 (2009): 592.

<sup>293</sup> Edelstein, David M. "Occupational hazards: Why military occupations succeed or fail." *International Security* 29, no. 1 (2004): 53.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid, Pickering and Kisangani, 593.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal”.<sup>296</sup> The spread of terrorism thus, is the movement through ideological means and the physical recruitment by terrorist organizations on the population of an intervened state to influence violence and threats for a specific goal important to that organization.<sup>297</sup> This spread does not necessitate the crossing of borders, though it is implied, but also incorporates the diaspora of terrorist ideology from within a country’s border to its citizens that previously had no affiliation with the terrorist organization.<sup>298</sup> The concept of the spread of terrorism from the perspective of an intervening force is not the same to a terrorist organization. Terrorist organizations do not tend to see themselves as terrorists. Rather, their role in a target population is necessary to “advance their cause and agenda in the name of which the terrorism is perpetrated”.<sup>299</sup>

## **Literature Review**

### *Religious Beliefs*

The respect and acknowledgement of religious beliefs in a foreign land from intervening forces is integral to the native populace. For purposes of this chapter, I will focus on Islamic beliefs as a popular religious practice throughout Africa and the Middle East, namely in locations heavily dominated by al Qaeda affiliates. Religion is one avenue or pathway through which a terrorist organization can use, exploit, or capitalize on a military intervention in order to gain popular support or sympathy for itself. They do this by utilizing religion-based messages and arguments, and by activating religious

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<sup>296</sup> LaFree, Gary, and Laura Dugan. "Introducing the global terrorism database." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19, no. 2 (2007).

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid, LaFree and Dugan.

<sup>299</sup> Ganor, Boaz. "Terror as a Strategy of Psychological Warfare." *ICT - Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism*. N.p., 15 July 2002. Web. 29 Apr. 2013. <<http://212.150.54.123/articles/articleDET.cfm?articleid=443>>.

symbolism. Perception is the tool that terrorist organizations utilize to manipulate the intentions of military interventions. Demonizing military interventions garners support from the native populations in favor of terrorist organizations. Religion essentially acts as a tool for manipulation for terrorist organizations. Identifying differences in spiritual identity between an intervening force and the indigenous of the host nation enables terrorist organizations to gain popular support and sympathy for their cause. In doing so, terrorist organizations ultimately disassociate the population from an intervening force through the use of religion as a weapon. This substantiates the argument at the heart of this chapter. The literature shows that religion as an essential regional consideration can be utilized as a weapon of manipulation in the event that a disconnect is espoused.

Respecting religious beliefs is an implication meaningful beyond ideological aspects. The weight of such implications is enough to cross borders and boundaries, infiltrate societies and create a unified belief that the purposes of military intervention to contain the emerging threats posed by terrorist organizations are a unified necessity for the intervened population and international community. To that effect, recognition of religious importance must be thoroughly understood and respected by intervening forces. Terrorist organizations have utilized their understanding of religion to cast a common relationship between them and the native population. Gallup polls measuring importance of religion document an average of 94.5 percent of people prioritize religion amongst countries relevant in this study including Somalia, Mali, Eritrea, and Libya<sup>300</sup>. Consequently, perceiving military intervention as either agreeable or disagreeable of religious beliefs is pertinent in the causal relationship affecting the spread of terrorism.

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<sup>300</sup> GALLUP WorldView - data accessed on 17 January 2009. Statistics measuring importance of religion by country.

Each scenario taking shape is worthy of possibly deterring or dissuading the spread of terrorism or igniting religious sentiment in spreading terrorism throughout the Africa.

Scholarship on the internal organization of religiously motivated groups demonstrates that the tactic of utilizing religion as a form of manipulation is integral.<sup>301</sup> “The internal logic and social foundations of religious extremism are much the same, whether the extremists’ goals are good, bad, or deadly.”<sup>302</sup> Understanding that terrorist organizations have logic behind manipulating religions to further their goals assumes difficulty in achieving success when military interventions are carried out by Western states. The dissimilarity of religion makes it difficult to establish a credible relationship between the native population and intervening forces. “The effects of government interventions are, if anything, more pernicious in the realm of religion...To combat extremism with the powers of the state is to invite conflict if that extremism represents a widespread unmet demand for some set of services.”<sup>303</sup> Perception ultimately becomes a tool of manipulation. The ability to manipulate religion as mutual between terrorist organizations and native populations allows for easier channels of success in promoting their agendas. Conversely, portraying military interventions as at odds with the native people increases chances of resistance. A society driven by resistance and incited by an occupying terrorist organization decreases the likelihood of a successful military intervention. The aforementioned remains a vulnerability of the literature however. Consensus amongst the literature explored, there is an underlying assumption that Western states are too different to relate and appreciate religious beliefs, traditions and

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<sup>301</sup> Iannaccone, Laurence R., and Eli Berman. "Religious extremism: The good, the bad, and the deadly." *Public Choice* 128, no. 1-2 (2006): 109-129.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid, Iannaccone and Berman.

implications. There remains a void in literature that explores this assumption, however by the very nature of an absence in this topic it is logical to conclude that assumptions of this significance can alter this course of a study. Nevertheless, the study will proceed utilizing the literature at hand, while giving credence to the possibility that evidence addressing that assumption can in the future, alter this study.

The 2012 Quran burning in Afghanistan is one example of an erroneous decision by American forces in Afghanistan, which enabled promotional narrative by al Qaeda's recruitment wing. "The Quran burning is a telling metaphor for the instances of flawed Western diplomacy, consisting of military intervention...To burn the most holy scripture of a culture is the most delegitimizing acknowledgement of bad motives and intentions".<sup>304</sup> The failure of intervening forces respecting Islamic practices acted as a catalyst for terrorist organizations' manipulation of religious considerations. Al Shabaab in Somalia grasped the opportunity to promote their agenda as one in accordance with the Somali people, casting a dark shadow on military intervention. They organized a protest rally attended by thousands of men, women and children. Furthermore, one of the group's leaders Sheikh Ali Mohamoud Rage called out to all Muslims claiming "The Americans are trying to hide these evil acts from the public, but we know and saw what they did. This will draw immediate retaliation from the billions of Muslims around the world."<sup>305</sup> To this degree, perception is most significant as it appears to the intervened population. The events that took place at Abu Ghraib prison in which prisoners were photographed in dehumanizing, torturous and religiously symbolic disregard became an immense

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<sup>304</sup> Falk, Richard. *Quran Burning: Mistake, Crime and Metaphor*. N.p.: Al Jazeera, 2012. Web. 6 Mar. 2013. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/20123785644715832.html>>.

<sup>305</sup> Agence France Presse, "Somalia's Shebab stage demo over Koran burning" *Agence France Presse*, September 15, 2010.

narrative of recruitment for terrorist organizations.<sup>306</sup> “The chilling images of detainee abuse at Baghdad’s Abu Ghraib prison—especially the iconic figure of a hooded man connected to electrical wires; of Private Lynndie England posing in front of a line of naked men, cigarette dangling from her mouth, her finger pointed towards the genitals of naked victims—infuriated Muslims around the world and rallied Arab sentiment to the cause of Islamic extremism.”<sup>307</sup> Strategically, terrorist organizations rallied behind this error. They capitalized and cast the Americans in a limelight contrary to all Muslims. The “Americans are corrupt, heartless, and hell-bent on humiliating Muslims and mocking their values. Apt to this error, Hamm quotes one military researcher as saying, “If Osama bin Laden had hired a Madison Avenue public relations firm to rally Arabs’ hearts and minds to his cause, it’s hard to imagine that it could have devised a better propaganda campaign”.<sup>308</sup> The threat of religious disrespect had consequences following this incidence however. Just “four days after the Abu Ghraib photos were released the terrorist leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi beheaded a 26-year-old Jewish businessman from Philadelphia named Nicholas Berg and broadcast the gruesome event on an Islamic militant Web site, prefacing the decapitation with a statement about the torture scandal.”<sup>309</sup> The implications of the conduct by which military interventions handle religion carry genuine meaning. Religion in this instance was not only a path, but a movement that enabled support for al Qaeda’s agenda.

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<sup>306</sup> Paul, John. "Torture and the Replication of Religious Iconography at the Abu Ghraib Prison: A Visual Semiotic Experiment." *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 23, no. 3 (2011): 342-357.

<sup>307</sup> Hamm, Mark S. "High crimes and misdemeanors': George W. Bush and the sins of Abu Ghraib." *Crime, Media, Culture* 3, no. 3 (2007): 259-284.

<sup>308</sup> Carter, P. (2004) “The Road to Abu Ghraib: The Biggest Scandal of the Bush Administration Began at the Top.” *WashingtonMonthly*, November. (Internet version.)

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, Hamm.



### *Social and Cultural Perceptions*

In addition to religion, terrorist organizations cast themselves as a benefit to native social and cultural structures. The way in which they project themselves as a benefit to a native society is another avenue by which terrorist organizations garner support. The opportunity of manipulation by terrorist organizations to view military intervention as a tool of reform on traditional structures in society is endless and thus jeopardizes an intervening forces ability to discredit or dissuade the spread of terrorism. Therefore, efforts to convey military intervention as at odds with what a native society needs are a strategic calculation aimed at garnering resistance, support and recruitment. The ability to instigate and compel a society to adopt tactics of violent resistance often emanates in the form of terrorism.<sup>310</sup> Although not conceived by outside perspective, acting with violence is a tool of indoctrinating a sense of national defense against intervening forces.<sup>311</sup> Convincing an intervened society that military intervention is an infringement on status quo social structures necessitates manipulating their narrative. Additionally, terrorist organizations often capitalize on regional necessities of a native population. Their promise to provide the necessities for societies is a political calculation aimed at promoting their agenda. The elicitation of nationalist reactions is significant for terrorist organizations to perceive military interventions as a threat to society. This also acts as support to the argument presented in the first chapter which states that terrorist organizations seek to elicit nationalist reactions as a means of garnering popular support.

Al Qaeda and its affiliates, such as AQIM, are duly influenced by common beliefs. One such belief is that Western presence in the Middle East and Africa is often

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<sup>310</sup> Choi, Seung-Whan, Does U.S. Military Intervention Reduce or Increase Terrorism? (2011). APSA 2011 Annual Meeting Paper. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1900375>, 8.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid, Choi, 8.

the blame for attacks carried out by terrorist organizations. The way in which intervening forces handle cultures and values carry distinct significance. A recent spike in “green on blue” attacks in which Afghan Security forces injure or kill their Western allies have demonstrated the disconnect between military intervention and social and cultural structures of intervened societies. One such attacker, Sammarudin, has been hailed as a hero for the attacks in which he killed two US soldiers for their blatant “disrespect for the Afghan culture and Islamic values” (BBC News). Sammarudin’s grave has become a shrine and a pilgrimage for those wishing to join the resistance against US and NATO forces in Afghanistan. Such instances of resistance have become fundamental in the narrative portrayed by al Qaeda. Resistance like this enables societies to sympathize with terrorist organizations that demonize intervening forces.

#### *Exploitation and Manipulation Tactics Aimed at Spreading Terror*

The relationship between terrorist organizations and societies is unique, depending on the fundamental factors which shape a populace and guide their beliefs in religion, social and cultural traditions. Moreover, the ability to interpret military intervention and manipulate its intentions is paramount to terrorist organizations success in recruitment, narrative expression and ultimately, the spread of terrorism.

Religious belief is often that which guides human existence in Muslim communities and Islamic believer in general. These beliefs “further serve to facilitate cooperation by altering the perceived payoff of costly actions” including terrorism.<sup>312</sup> As Pape demonstrates, terrorism motivated by religion accounts for only 3% of terrorist activity from 1980 to 2003, however the same motivation accounts for 48% of fatalities

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<sup>312</sup> Sosis, Richard, and Candace Alcorta. "Militants and martyrs: Evolutionary perspectives on religion and terrorism." *Natural security: A Darwinian approach to a dangerous world* (2008): 108.

as a consequence of terrorist activity.<sup>313</sup> Although the motivation accounts for so little terrorist activity, the effects of this motivation are devastating enough to create a theatre of significance through religious symbolism. Although this figure is a mere representation of terrorism in general, it likewise is a depiction of the affect religion and terrorism play throughout Africa. “Religion is not the root cause of conflicts, but is rather a tool used by terrorists to achieve their goals.”<sup>314</sup>

Al Qaeda and AQIM have successfully infiltrated societies torn by political and economic strife such as Mali and Afghanistan and manipulated religious belief to convey the perception that the populace would be “participating in something of divine significance that transcends individual self-interest.”<sup>315</sup> Leaders of terrorist organizations understand the importance of converting their cause to one that is relatable and beneficial to society as a whole. This tool of manipulation is imperative in the fight against military intervention. Religious belief is significant because it becomes a means to an end; it is the driver and influencer of life’s decisions among Muslims. Thus, by manipulating military intervention as not in touch with divine significance and intended for national interests dispels distrust among the intervened population and their perception toward military intervention.

Al Qaeda and AQIM are consistent in demonizing intervening forces such as French, American, Ethiopian, and Nigerian troops as at odds with Muslim beliefs. By demonizing intervening forces, terrorist organizations portray them as a common threat to themselves and the native population. The common threat is ultimately portrayed as the demon. The glorified hand which guides societies, facilitates and abides by religious

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<sup>313</sup> Pape, R. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House. 2005, 6.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, Sosis and Alcorta, 108.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid, 109.

belief is that which is most relatable to the common people, one of your own if you will. This protagonist seeks not to garner the interests of the state, but rather, the interest of the people. The ability of terrorist organizations to comprehend the latter and manipulate intervening forces as at odds with the people is what makes the relationship between them and religious belief fundamental to understanding the affects of military intervention on the spread of terrorism.

### *Manipulation for Recruitment and Support*

Often labeled and conceived as sociopaths and lunatics, terrorists' abilities to relate to societies' social and cultural structures breeds success. Similarly, their ability to manipulate narrative as it relates to social and cultural traditions is imperative in countering military intervention and further spreading terrorism. Terrorist organizations' keen ability to foster commitments from disinterested individuals to a cause influenced by pre-modern beliefs such as patriarchy, limited freedoms and self-interests are fundamental in shaping social and cultural structures. Al Shabaab and AQIM characterize military intervention as forces fervent on reforming cultural and social traditions to reflect intervening values.<sup>316</sup> More importantly, their testament to the value in adopting their beliefs in spiritual divinity against an intervening force mitigates a political implication implied from military intervention to one of social implications suggested by terrorist organizations agendas.<sup>317</sup>

Often, quantitative studies seek to explain the spread of terrorism, however this study draws on literature that suggests a qualitative approach to the unique ability for

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<sup>316</sup> Siegel, Pascale Combelles . " AQIM's Playbook in Mali | Combating Terrorism Center at West Point." *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*. N.p., 27 Mar. 2013. Web. 1 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/aqims-playbook-in-mali>>.

<sup>317</sup> Mamdani, Mahmood. "Good Muslim, bad Muslim: A political perspective on culture and terrorism." *American anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 766.

terrorist groups to manipulate military interventions to successfully spread their ideologies. Manipulating military interventions often are strengthened by erroneous decisions from intervening forces. Indiscriminate behavior that discredits a native society's beliefs or social values creates a plethora of opportunity for terrorist organizations like al Qaeda to rationalize their actions. Perception thus remains vital during times of military intervention. The perception of a common threat between an intervening force and native population is understood to be a prerequisite for military intervention successfully deterring or dissuading the spread of terrorism. Failure to acknowledge religious, cultural and social constructs act as a tool of oppression, igniting terrorists' narrative and more importantly, contributing to recruitment strategies. Manipulating military intervention that is extensive in a foreign land has become pertinent to terrorist organizations that utilize their presence to spread terrorism. The unique ability to manipulate message content and narrative enables terrorist organizations the opportunity to label intervening forces as the common threat between societies and the organization. Enabling an intervened populace to assess what is perceived as in their best interest, therefore acts as a determinant in the causal relationship between military intervention and the spread of terrorism.

Social and Cultural reformation is not an intended purpose of military intervention seeking to deter or dissuade the spread of terrorism.<sup>318</sup> This claim by Mamdani however, remains an assumption. Commitments to hearts and minds efforts often aim at reforming social and cultural structures to some degree. The notion of enacting democratic ideals on society as the United States has done over the last decade in Iraq and Afghanistan suggest exactly that. The powers of persuasion and force act as a

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<sup>318</sup> Ibid, Mamdani, 767.

tool for manipulation of narrative.<sup>319</sup> Force can thus be seen as an overarching tool of oppression by intervening forces who would then appear to be at odds with the perception of a common threat. Terrorist organizations that utilize persuasion throughout Africa and the Middle East are able to elicit a sense of belonging amongst a populace by seeking to identify with a social and cultural structure seemingly hampered in countries like Somalia, Mali and Libya.

Explicit in the ideology expressed by terrorist organizations is the notion of eternal reward in the afterlife. This notion is another mechanism of manipulation which targets the religious ideologies of a host society. Cultural and social standards under terrorist organizations often are grounded on the principles of Sharia Law. An affiliate of AQIM, al Shabaab, has in the past deliberately expressed their wanton belief in adopting these structures by claiming “Glory and eternity to our faithful followers”<sup>320</sup>. While convincing a society to adhere to strict religious frameworks for reasons of moral legitimacy and eternal rewards in the afterlife, expelling the structures which essentially represent who a society is appears counterproductive.<sup>321</sup> Manipulating narrative is a tool for recruitment and support, however forceful implementation of social and cultural traditions is merely parallel to the colonialist characterizations given to military interventions from terrorist organizations. Consequently, although manipulating narrative is useful in garnering support, forceful implementation of social reform, as seen by al Shabaab’s enforcement of Sharia law in Somalia of 2007, remains counterproductive to their intent and beneficial to military intervention. Social and cultural traditions create a

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<sup>319</sup> Ibid, Mamdani, 768.

<sup>320</sup> In an audio recording released on a regional al Shabaab website, the group’s leader Ahmed Godane, also known as Mukhtar Abu al-Zubair, called on his fighters to stand firm on the battlefields, promising paradise to whomever dies defending their cause.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid, Sosis and Alcorta, 5.

battleground of moral decisions which can both drive and derail the spread of terrorism. Adhering to the values of social and cultural traditions is beneficial, but forceful reform is detrimental to their cause. The acceptance of a populace, including their social and cultural structures, is a prerequisite for fostering in group commitments.<sup>322</sup>

This study is useful in contributing to existing literature by identifying the importance of social concepts as a cause and effect on how terrorist organizations use military interventions to spread terrorism. It seems evident that the answer is not concrete or intuitive, but rather open for interpretation based on perception. It can be perceived that military intervention can deter, dissuade and alternatively, supplement the spread of terrorism. Likewise, the relationship that terrorist organizations have with the social factors at stake determines implications on the spread of terrorism. Regardless of the geostrategic origin of an intervening force, the fragility of social, cultural and religious implications on military intervention enables a plethora of opportunity for terrorist organizations to capitalize on mistakes and disconnects to further their cause. These three concepts combined offer a unique qualitative consideration for variables that are influential in deterring the intentions of military interventions.

### **Case Study**

A study of the ways in which terrorist organizations like al Qaeda and AQIM use military interventions to further their cause provides a clearer understanding of the process by which terrorism spreads. Longevity provides ample opportunity for terrorist organizations to manipulate narrative and label an intervening force as reformists of Islamic religious beliefs and traditional social and cultural structures. Therefore,

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid, Mamdani, 767.

understanding how long an intervening power remains in a foreign territory distinguishes interventions from occupations which have disparate implications.<sup>323</sup> Overarching goals that seek to occupy territory, reform social structures, or even espouse democratic ideals on foreign territory, become measures conducive to terrorist organizations agendas in spreading terrorism.<sup>324</sup> When military interventions loses track of the singular purpose to thwart the spread of terrorism, groups like al Qaeda and AQIM gain support by discrediting the intentions of the military interventions.

Utilizing military intervention for purposes of preventing the spread of terrorism necessitates a quick and devastating approach for conduct. Interventions of this nature are more likely to succeed when they are overwhelmingly destructive against terrorist organizations. This approach demonstrates that such an organization cannot benefit society and thus reduce its loyalists.<sup>325</sup> However, in cases like Afghanistan since 2001, longevity often creates a liability by which intentions of the intervention evolve into overarching goals of political, social and cultural change. Leadership of a terrorist organization that can manipulate longevity as at odds with intervener's stated intentions can prove influential. Overwhelming defeat by an intervening force espouses weakness in leadership and physical capabilities of terrorist organizations, all of which are detrimental to support and recruitment capabilities.<sup>326</sup> Therefore, survival and attrition against intervening forces not only gives hope, but also acts as a significant recruitment tool for future combatants.

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<sup>323</sup> Edelstein, David M. "Occupational hazards: Why military occupations succeed or fail." *International Security* 29, no. 1 (2004): 56.

<sup>324</sup> Eland, Ivan, "Excessive U.S. Military Action Overseas Breeds Anti-U.S. Terrorism." Religion and Terrorism Conference Paper, (2007). Downloaded from [http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/615\\_Eland.pdf](http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/615_Eland.pdf).

<sup>325</sup> Ibid, Edelstein, 59.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.



The case study will test two fundamental variables that suggest a likelihood of success and extensiveness of an intervention, meaning longevity or brevity. The likelihood of an interventions' success will be tested by looking at efforts taken by an intervening force to consider the three regional considerations explored throughout the literature review including, religious, social and cultural implications. The length of an intervention will show significance to the success of brevity and the liability of longevity. First, I will use the Franco-African military intervention against AQIM and its affiliates in Mali in January 2012 to demonstrate the inability of AQIM to manipulate the intervention's intention of thwarting the spread of terrorism. This intervention embodies both of the suggested variables to be tested with concrete results. Second, I will use the United States intervention in Afghanistan dating from October 2001 to present. This case also embodies both variables to be tested and suggest a causal relationship between the two variables. The quick and devastating conduct of intervention by Franco-African forces demonstrates the inability of AQIM and its affiliates to manipulate narrative and conjure ideologies that demonize intervening forces. Essentially, the extensiveness of this case has an effect on the likelihood of success. Similarly, this approach limits the ability of infringement on critical factors like religious beliefs and social and cultural traditions from the intervening force. On the contrary, American led intervention in Afghanistan, which has lasted over a decade, is conveyed as an occupation from al Qaeda. As such, al Qaeda, AQIM, and its affiliates have portrayed American forces as an occupation of "unwelcome invaders, operating outside the rule of law."<sup>327</sup> Longevity has undoubtedly

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<sup>327</sup> Peic, Goran, and Dan Reiter. "Foreign-Imposed Regime Change, State Power and Civil War Onset, 1920–2004." *British Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 3 (2011): 464.

furnished a plethora of opportunities to disrespect religious practices and play into the hand of terrorist organizations' tactics of ideological and narrative manipulation.

### *The Franco-African Military Intervention in Mali*

The Franco-African military intervention against AQIM and its affiliates in Northern Mali in January 2012 is representative of a successful approach in preventing the spread of terrorism. This intervention sought to be quick in duration and devastating in its methods, yet remained sensitive to religious, social and cultural beliefs and traditions. Furthermore, the intentions of this intervention were clear. "French President Francois Hollande has made it clear that France has no other interests in Mali other than rescuing a friendly state and no other objective than fighting terrorism."<sup>328</sup> The use of regional forces strengthened the credibility of the Franco-African intervention as well by demonstrating a relationship between intervening forces and the respect of essential regional considerations previously discussed. Interventions conducted solely from Western states are often liable to manipulation of ideological and regional sensitivities that terrorist organizations like AQIM capitalize on. In fact "interventions can create a number of problems for [Western states], including a rise in anti [Western] sentiment, diminished credibility of the mission fails, domestic skepticism about future military operations...and threats to vital interests where none previously existed".<sup>329</sup> Thus, involvement from African nations negated the opportunity for AQIM to manipulate the intervention as a Western influenced undertaking to reform Islamic beliefs and cultural constructs.

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<sup>328</sup> Erforth , Benedikt , and George Deffner . "Old Wine in New Bottles? Justifying France's Military Intervention in Mali | Think Africa Press." *Think Africa Press*. N.p., n.d. Web. 8 Apr. 2013. <<http://thinkafricapress.com/mali/old-wine-new-bottles-justifying-france-military-intervention>>.

<sup>329</sup> Conry, Barbara. "The Futility of US Intervention in Regional Conflicts." (2012).

## *Religious Sensitivity*

The Franco-African military intervention lasted approximately three months from January 2013 and major offenses ending in April of 2013. The short duration establishes credibility, but more importantly, AQIM was unable to manipulate their stated intentions because there was no involvement outside the scope of combating terrorism. Intervention “is likely to generate less opposition when the intervening force makes a credible guarantee that it will withdraw and return control to an indigenous government in a timely manner”.<sup>330</sup> In doing so, they negate any vulnerabilities in their purpose that can be used by terrorist organizations to manipulate. Furthermore, respecting religious beliefs negates AQIM’s most useful support tool of manipulating religious insensitivities to further their cause. Religious implications that most heavily dominate AQIM’s cause did not become an issue in this intervention. Moreover, the use of “rational players”, referring to the regional African forces, establishes a regional concern for threat reduction.<sup>331</sup> Religious beliefs often make it difficult for Western states like France to combat “rebel pursuit issues” related to the spread of terrorism. This is due to the overwhelming variance religion plays between natives and the interveners involved. “In fact military involvement often aggravates the situation.”<sup>332</sup> Sensitivity to religious belief and the credibility of a joint military intervention with regional forces have bred success. “The fast moving offensive has led to the loss of territory by the assortment of Islamist rebels seeking the creation of an Islamic state”.<sup>333</sup> Furthermore, their cache of

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid, Edelstein, 51

<sup>331</sup> Hoffmann, Stanley. "The politics and ethics of military intervention." *Survival* 37, no. 4 (1995): 29-51.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid, Conroy, 2012.

<sup>333</sup> Onuoha, Freedom C., and Alex Thurston . "Al jazeera Center for Studies - Reports - Franco-African Intervention in Mali & Security Issues." *ACS*. N.p., n.d. Web. 8 Apr. 2013.  
<<http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2013>.

sophisticated weapons once boasted as their advantage, “is being decimated through aerial bombardment by French forces.”<sup>334</sup> Groups like AQIM and its affiliates were forced to focus their resources and attention strategically, abandoning their strength in religious manipulation as a method to boost their image. The loss of territory and strategic limitations created vulnerabilities in AQIM and its affiliates in Northern Mali. The quick and devastating approach from Franco-African forces on terrorists groups operating throughout the region created a vacuum of power usurpation from these organizations.<sup>335</sup> Furthermore, the inability to demonize Franco-African forces made it difficult for AQIM to garner support. Vulnerabilities in power negate convincing leadership abilities necessary to establish credibility on a native population.

The short duration of military intervention in Mali, convincingly established credibility in the Franco-African forces intervening throughout the North. Discrediting an intervening force’s intentions is often the premise of terrorist organizations ability to garner support. The call to religious sentiment as a driving force behind AQIM’s cause was severely disabled by the strict adherence to the Franco-African intentions in the intervention. Without relating to religious beliefs, the most important arsenal of manipulation decreased the chances of eliciting opposition.

#### *Sensitivity to Social and Cultural Traditions in Mali*

The effectiveness of sensitivity to social and cultural traditions in Mali by Franco-African forces made AQIM’s struggle to identify intervening forces as a threat to the native society difficult. In their efforts to prevent the spread of terrorism throughout a fragmented Northern Mali, the credibility of Franco-African intervention forces

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid, Onuoha and Thurston.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

significantly derailed recruitment and support capabilities by AQIM and its affiliates on the native population. AQIM and its affiliates operating throughout Northern Mali relied heavily on support and recruitment within their narrative. Survival or attrition against intervening forces strengthened their credibility as suitable alternatives of leadership. Consequently, credibility strengthened al Qaeda's narrative which defines intervening forces as indulgers of self-interests.<sup>336</sup> This approach sought to justify their need in society as a new leadership that would serve the interests of Mali and its people. Thus, the successes of France's intentions which sought to "eradicate terrorism"<sup>337</sup> were imperative for justifying their reasons for intervention and discrediting the narrative of AQIM and its affiliates. Interests that serve the natives of Mali adhered to their social needs and discredited an illegitimate attempt of AQIM manipulating military interventions as self-interested.

The Global Terrorism Database provides unique insight into the relationship of time period and quantity of terrorist attacks in Mali between 2001 and 2012.<sup>338</sup> In addition to time, the data conveys the "target type" which identifies who groups like al Shabaab, AQIM and its affiliates, intend to harm or kill. This relationship enables logical assumptions to be drawn based on implications of time periods and intentions to explain what has happened to terrorism in the region post Franco-African military intervention. Between 2001 and 2011, "Mali experienced a total of 49 terrorist assaults

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<sup>336</sup> Macfarlane, S. Neil, Carolin J. Thielking, and Thomas G. Weiss. "The Responsibility to Protect: is anyone interested in humanitarian intervention?." *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 5 (2004): 984.

<sup>337</sup> Staff, CNN Staff. "France determined to 'eradicate' terrorism in Mali." *CNN*. N.p., 13 Jan. 2013. Web. 11 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.cnn.com/2013/01/13/world/africa/mali-military-offensive>>.

<sup>338</sup> Chasdi, R.. Research Note: Terrorism in Northwestern Africa: Mali, Mauretania, and Algeria: What START's Quantitative Data (1970-2011) Can and Cannot Tell Us. Perspectives on Terrorism, North America, 6, dec. 2012. Available at: <<http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/233>>. Date accessed: 08 Apr. 2013.

and 8 incidences".<sup>339</sup> The mere significance of this statistic is that one-third of all armed assaults during this time period were focused on private citizens and property. Military targets accounted for 29 percent of total attacks during this same time period.<sup>340</sup> By contrast, although empirical evidence is thin, after Franco-African military intervention, almost all attacks in Mali were carried out against military forces intervening in the country<sup>341</sup>. Thus, it is believed that when intervening forces adhere to their intentions and do so quickly, it makes it increasingly difficult for terrorist organizations to manipulate regional factors like religious beliefs, social and cultural traditions, in an effort to demonize intervening forces. Avoiding overarching goals that characteristically reflect occupations intrinsically enable success in preventing the spread of terrorism through military intervention. This type of approach leaves little room for involvement in religious, social, or cultural factors in Mali. The joint effort and devastating method of conduct by French and African forces in Mali have established a level of credibility that has made it difficult for AQIM to garner support from the natives. Furthermore, activating nationalist reaction to their cause has been stymied by the conduct of the Franco-African military intervention.

Nevertheless, if the assumption that the relationship between time period and intentions holds false, it is necessary to consider alternatives. Undoubtedly, the militant Islamist groups operating throughout Northern Mali have lost valuable territory against intervening forces, however we must consider an alternative to what has happened to terrorism in the region post Franco-African intervention in Mali. The case in Mali has

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<sup>339</sup> Ibid, Chasdi.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid.

<sup>341</sup> AFP, Staff Writers. "AFP: French, Mali troops fight street battles with Islamists in Timbuktu." *Google*. N.p., 31 Mar. 2013. Web. 14 Apr. 2013.

strategically disabled the spread of terrorism for the time being, but permanent implications are still unknown. Al Qaeda and its affiliates like AQIM operating in Northern Mali are reliant on the ability of adaptation and statelessness.<sup>342</sup> Thus, the duration and intentions of an intervening force can also be described as a provisional explanation of the prevention of terrorism in Mali. Organizations like AQIM and its affiliates throughout Mali can be encompassed in a war of attrition against the West, waiting for the withdrawal of intervening forces to once again spread their ideology through manipulation of religious and social narratives sensitive to the people. Intervention of short duration and intentions to eradicate terrorism could ultimately evolve into occupations which often reform political structures and leadership in a foreign territory. Conclusively, military intervention as a tool to prevent the spread of terrorism can arguably be considered a short term application. Al Qaeda and AQIM fully understand the disadvantage of resources between them and Western states. Thus, their relationship to native societies and ability to manipulate regional factors like religious belief, social, and cultural tradition are a means to an end. As such, regional implications of military intervention can ultimately be measured over a longer course of time, thus negating the immediate effects of military intervention in Northern Mali.

#### *United States Intervention in Afghanistan from 2001 to Today*

The United States intervention in Afghanistan from 2001 to today differs significantly from the Franco-African military intervention in Mali. The liability of longevity has ultimately created overarching goals on political and social constructs in Afghanistan. Moreover, instances of religious insensitivity by American forces have

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<sup>342</sup> Morgan, Matthew J. "The origins of the new terrorism." *Parameters* 34, no. 1 (2004): 29-43.

created religious symbolism utilized for recruitment and support by al Qaeda. Understanding the Afghanistan case of 2001 and its involvement in comprehending the process by which terrorism spreads first compels clarification of the intentions at stake. The US-led War in Afghanistan in 2001 “was not intended or designed to be a stability operation. The Taliban regime was removed in order to punish it and to expedite intense, large-scale action against Al Qaeda in Afghanistan -- not to stabilize the country...”<sup>343</sup> The intentions of the intervention were supported. “When the Americans first arrived in Afghanistan in 2001, they were not generally perceived as an imperialist power, contrary to the British or Soviets. If anything, most Afghans held a positive view of Americans as having liberated them from an oppressive regime. Some were also thankful to the US for having supported the resistance in the 1980s.”<sup>344</sup> Above all, the intentions were viewed as legitimate from the native Afghans and “the overall perception of the United States was a positive one” toward the end of 2001 and beginning of 2002.<sup>345</sup> Intentions at this point made it difficult for al Qaeda to manipulate their narrative. The longevity of the intervention however, became an undermining factor in preventing the spread of terrorism.

### *Religious Sensitivity*

Religious manipulation has long been the tactic of support and recruitment by al Qaeda, most strongly against US forces in Afghanistan. The longevity of the intervention in Afghanistan has created the liability of manipulating intervention into

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<sup>343</sup> Conetta, Carl. *Strange Victory: A critical appraisal of Operation Enduring Freedom and the Afghanistan war*. Project on Defense Alternatives, Commonwealth Institute, (2002): 7.

<sup>344</sup> Giustozzi, Antonio . "The 'Great Fears' of Afghanistan: How wild rumours shape politics." *IDEAS*. Version Issue 4. London School of Economics, n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2013.  
<<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications>, 11.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid, Giustozzi.



occupancy. Bin Laden's concern with the "US occupation" of the "Arabian Peninsula", "the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance", and the occupation of Jerusalem by the "Jews" are all secular considerations manipulated into religious significance.<sup>346</sup> In an effort to change the military intervention into a "crusade occupation" Bin Laden analogized the conflict as being "a clear declaration of war on God, his messenger, and Muslims."<sup>347</sup> Although a time table for intervention was never established, it was evident that intervention was meant to end the Taliban and al Qaeda's influence and presence in Afghanistan and do so convincingly. An apt and devastating approach would thus, be quick in its conduct. Although the Taliban and al Qaeda loyalists were toppled in 2001, more than a decade later, the US's War in Afghanistan continues. Al Qaeda fighters continue to join the insurgency in Afghanistan against US and coalition forces. Credibility has ultimately been jeopardized by the longevity of military intervention. As stated earlier, credibility is the means that establishes support from the native population. The intentions of intervening forces that were once accepted in late 2001 and early 2002 by Afghans began to lose its legitimacy.

#### *Sensitivity to Social and Cultural Traditions*

Having already toppled the Taliban and crippled al Qaeda's abilities, the continued presence of intervening forces became suspicious.<sup>348</sup> Their presence was justified as a necessary engagement against the reemergence of Islamist militants, however doubts developed. Restraint among the native population emerged as Afghans questioned "how could the Americans, having displayed awesome power during

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<sup>346</sup> Verschoor-Kirss, Alexander. "The Politics of Religious Language: Osama Bin Laden, Al Qaeda and the (ab)Use of Religion." *Yahoo Voices*. N.p., n.d. Web. 5 May 2013. <<http://voices.yahoo.com/the-politics-religious-language-osama-bin-laden-7524290.html?cat=37>>.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, Guistozzi, 11.

Operation Enduring Freedom in 2001, really be unable to cope with a ragtag insurgency?"<sup>349</sup> Loss of credibility ultimately increased opposition forces and justified al Qaeda's narrative of intervening forces as a tool of oppression on Islam and the people of Afghanistan.<sup>350</sup> Implications of an assessment from the International Council on Security and Development (ICOS) that draws upon regional attitudes of the Afghan people are significant in understanding how al Qaeda is able to use the military intervention as a tool for support. "ICOS field research reveals a relationship gap between [military intervention] forces and the Afghan communities they are intended to protect. 75% of interviewees believe that foreigners disrespect their religion and traditions; 74% believe that working with foreign forces is wrong; and 68% believe that [military intervention] does not protect them. 55% of interviewees believe that the international community is in Afghanistan for its own benefit, to destroy or occupy the country, or to destroy Islam."<sup>351</sup> The effects of the longevity in Afghanistan have not only strengthened al Qaeda's narrative, but significantly created doubt in the minds of native Afghans. "70% believe that recent military actions in their area were bad for Afghan people."<sup>352</sup>

Perception significantly altered the landscape of military intervention in Afghanistan. As the longevity of the intervention subsisted, increased recruitment and support for the global jihad in Afghanistan prospered.<sup>353</sup> Continued fighting from insurgents and al Qaeda affiliates into 2006 "conveyed the message that they were able

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid, Guistozzi, 11.

<sup>350</sup> Ryan, Michael. "Framing the War Against Terrorism US Newspaper Editorials and Military Action in Afghanistan." *Gazette* 66, no. 5 (2004): 364.

<sup>351</sup> MacDonald, Norine. *Afghanistan: the relationship gap*. DIANE Publishing, 2010.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

<sup>353</sup> Hoffman, Bruce. "Al Qaeda, trends in terrorism, and future potentialities: An assessment." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26, no. 6 (2003): 429-442.

to challenge an alliance of the world's most powerful armies.”<sup>354</sup> This was convincing narrative in support of al Qaeda, which ultimately complicated the perception of a common threat between intervening forces and the native population. The failure of expectations inherently jeopardized the legitimacy of the intervention.<sup>355</sup> In fact, the longevity of military intervention in Afghanistan from 2001 to today became viewed as an occupation. Occupations often provide ample opportunity to interact erroneously with regional factors important to native societies like religious beliefs, social and cultural traditions. Longevity ultimately enabled the opportunity for error. Erroneous decisions by intervening forces like the burning of the Quran and Abu Ghraib cases mentioned earlier, create powerful narratives for recruitment and support by terrorist organizations like al Qaeda and AQIM. “Lengthy occupations elicit nationalist reactions that impede success.”<sup>356</sup> Occupations become a source to justify labeling intervening forces as indulgers of self-interest, implications of which play into recruitment and support of al Qaeda and its affiliates throughout the world.<sup>357</sup>

## **Conclusion**

With two countries inundated with terrorism and al Qaeda's influence on society, why has one instance of military intervention seemingly succeeded, while the other has ostensibly failed? Despite their intentions, each case in Mali and Afghanistan has differed in their conduct. The ways in which al Qaeda and AQIM manipulate regional factors like religious belief, social and cultural traditions are prominent enough to alter

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<sup>354</sup> Ibid, Guistozzi, 13.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid, Edelstein, 51.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid, MacFarlane, 984.

the level of success. Measures of credibility influence support and opposition. Furthermore, the perception of a military intervention is contingent upon the success of the intentions at stake. Discrediting the military intervention is necessary in furthering their cause, however, doing so against an engagement premised on thwarting the spread of terrorism is a difficult narrative. Military interventions that seek alternative motivational or issue variables other than “rebel pursuit issues” complicate their success and create vulnerabilities in preventing the spread of terrorism.<sup>358</sup>

This chapter holds true to the principles of social science whereby the state of social science is to identify insights, while often not identifying clear explanations. While this chapter may not fully address how terrorist organizations use military interventions to further their cause, it does contribute interesting points of consideration. First, the duration of a military intervention provides insight into the liabilities of longevity. Despite the intentions, duration can be representative of how intervening forces interact with regional factors like religion and culture. Military interventions which seek to prevent the spread of terrorism that are short in duration tend to focus solely on eliminating the threat and withdrawing, making it difficult for terrorist organizations to create a narrative that is sympathetic to their cause. Lengthy interventions often unintentionally interact at odds with unique regional factors within a native population, ultimately enabling the opportunity of manipulation by al Qaeda and AQIM for reasons of support and recruitment. The duration of a military intervention can be demonstrative of how terrorism spreads regionally.

Secondly, the intentions of a military intervention significantly affect essential regional factors at stake such as religious belief, social and cultural traditions. Al Qaeda

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<sup>358</sup> Ibid, Pickering and Kisangani, 593.

and AQIM rely on capitalizing on errors in intention and overarching goals on native societies such as political and social reform. Therefore, credibility determines the chances of opposition from the native population or a regional affiliate of al Qaeda operating on behalf of the society. Lastly, the reliance on recruitment and support of narrative by terrorist organizations like al Qaeda, AQIM and its affiliates, can be detrimental to the success in spreading their ideology when military intervention establishes legitimate credibility. There seems to be no way to fully avoid the phenomenon of combating narratives, however these reasonable conclusions can contribute to existing literature of whether military interventions help or hurt terrorist organizations. There is no formula whereby intervention can be determined as good counterterrorism or bad, however social science has a predictive element. Historically, as illustrated throughout the case study, military intervention that is short in duration and precise in its targeting is more often than not, successful.

Let it be clear however, that this chapter is not naïve to the possibility that perhaps military intervention is merely a short term or provisional application to preventing the spread of terrorism. Perhaps as many opposition to military intervention believe, “the present U.S. policy of foreign interventionism currently fuels the incentive for terrorism against it. A policy of military neutrality towards other countries would seem to be the greatest step the U.S. government could take to seriously end terrorism”<sup>359</sup>. Nevertheless, at this time, this chapter is effective in its findings to explain the efforts terrorist organizations take to promote their ideologies. Furthermore, by studying the regional factors of consideration and their role as variables throughout the case study, a

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<sup>359</sup> Garinaccio, Joseph. "The U.S. War In Afghanistan and Just War Theory - Research - Chalcedon ." *Chalcedon* . N.p., n.d. Web. 12 Apr. 2013. <<http://chalcedon.edu/research/articles/the-u-s-war-in-afghanistan-and-just-war-theory/>>.

greater understanding of how terrorist organizations use military interventions to spread their cause can be understood. This chapter adds substantial relevance to the overall thesis by representing the psychological consideration through the analysis of manipulation capabilities employed by terrorist organizations.

## **Thesis Conclusion**

The systematic study of the terrorist decision making process through an organizational perspective of tactics and strategies enables this study to draw significant conclusions regarding the three most fundamental facets of the decision making process. The organizational, strategic and psychological considerations suggests the most significant and effective aspects involved in the terrorist decision making process. All three considerations account for the most fundamental concerns that are taken into account by terrorist organizations. Moreover, this portfolio will contribute to existing literature by suggesting that the three fundamental considerations have a symbiotic relationship as a result of their effectiveness and relevance to terrorist organizations today. This is contrary to existing literature which fails to evaluate the three considerations as related. All three considerations offer an explanation of the dynamic approach to decisions, thus enabling the opportunity for methodical counterterrorism efforts.

The portfolio offers a meticulous study on this topic by offering a systematic approach through first, addressing the organizational consideration, finding that specific factors involved in external support enables a terrorist group to exist and sustain their operations. Secondly, the portfolio examined the strategic consideration which found that specific catastrophic tactics such as suicide terrorism are beneficial in terms of cost effectiveness and in terms of broad political goals. Lastly, the examination of psychological considerations found that terrorist organizations' ability to manipulate military intervention narratives is dependent upon the way in which intervening forces treat essential regional factors including religious beliefs, social and cultural traditions.

The three chapters, which are structured respective to these considerations, conclusively follow a pattern of devolution from broad tactics and strategies to specific ones. All three tied together offer a modern approach to understanding the terrorist decision making process in a way that is effective in its implications and relevant to the theatre of war today.

The study of terrorist organizations first, necessitates an examination of what enables them to exist and what facilitates their operations. Conclusively, as this study showed, external support is the lifeline of an organization; it provides for both direct operational needs and broader support activities. Yet, there are three common factors that most contribute to the existence and sustainment of a terrorist organization. First, they need to operate under a veil of legitimacy. This study showed that the veil challenges counterterrorism efforts by diminishing several tactics utilized to cease an organization's operational capabilities and influence. Secondly, external support increases popular support of a terrorist organization within a host nation. All terrorist organizations seek principle objectives, whether they are political or religious, however the need to garner support from host societies remains a calculated decision. Lastly, external support is needed to enable an organization to become a formidable threat to its opposition, namely the West. This study showed that by understanding terrorist groups within these specific common factors counterterrorism efforts can be calculable.

The study of strategic considerations which identifies suicide terrorism as a modus operandi for several terrorist organizations shows a logical and calculated decision to employ this tactic. This tactic is methodical in its ability to dramatize carnage and add legitimacy to a terrorist group's claims. Most importantly, suicide terrorism has acted as



an equalizer to much more globalized and technologically advanced modern armies. The operational advantages justify the motivations behind employing this strategy, yet it also provides a shortcoming in that modern literature is brief in the study of alternative means of action. Conventional warfare tactics almost appear implicit within the literature by the very nature of the militancy involved within a particular terrorist organization. Future literature that addresses alternative means of action such as covert action, cyber terrorism, or other guerilla warfare tactics would enable an effective comparative analysis of specific tactics within the general study of strategic considerations.

Lastly, the study of psychological considerations identifies the manipulation capabilities inherent in many terrorist organizations via ideological influences between the group and popular society. Strategies of this degree are utilized to gain support and sympathy by activating nationalist reactions. This particular study shows a subtle overlap of the three general considerations explored throughout the three chapters, yet this also acknowledges a possible shortcoming; that being specificity. Based on the conclusions drawn from this chapter, understanding the effects of military intervention on the spread of terrorism, remains dependent on many different considerations. Although this chapter sought to find an explicit answer to the question at stake, it is perhaps suggested that context is significant to this particular study. Identifying whether a terrorist group adheres to essential regional considerations or if intervening forces remain sensitive to those concerns suggests variability to this topic. Nevertheless, it remains a subjective study within the overall framework of tactics and strategies used to explain an essential consideration of the terrorist decision making process. It offers the three most influential

regional considerations: religious belief, social and cultural traditions; all of which necessitate attention for their influence on the success or failure of a military intervention.

It remains apparent that the organizational, strategic and psychological considerations tie together aptly to explain the essence of evaluating the decision making process of terrorist organizations. The symbiotic relationship between the three enables the opportunity for counterterrorism officials to adopt a systematic approach aimed at fractionalizing groups based on their very own methodology of terror. The research conducted in this study establishes that the three factors are symbiotic, however further research is needed to devise an effective counterterrorism strategy. This study serves as a contribution to existing literature which is limited in content related to the terrorist decision making process. The decision making process influences the course of terrorist campaigns, thus understanding it allows for dynamism to the general study of terrorism. Modern literature is inundated with studies on terrorism from the perspective of counterterrorism forces; their objectives, needs, successes and failures, however a study from the perspective of a terrorist organization allows for assimilation into their methodology. This systematic study offers a modern approach to a phenomenon that is contentious, extensive, and relevant to society today.

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**Curriculum Vitae**

Christopher Cirino was born in Oceanside, California in 1987 and as the child of a United States Marine Corps lived in many different countries throughout the world. He attended Twentynine Palms High School graduating with High Honors in 2005. He attended California State University, Long Beach graduating Magna Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science with a concentration in International Relations in 2009. Since graduating he has worked in government. He currently lives in Alexandria, Virginia.